

HISTORICAL ROMANCE IN ENGLAND:  
STUDIES IN ANGLO-NORMAN AND MIDDLE ENGLISH ROMANCE

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## ABSTRACT

### Historical Romance in England:

#### Studies in Anglo-Norman and Middle English Romance

The enquiry into the nature of historical romance in England and the relationship between the Anglo-Norman and the Middle English romances, begins with a descriptive analysis of the Anglo-Norman material - the two versions of Havelok, the romances of Horn, Boeve de Hauttone, Ipomedon, Protheselaus, Fergus, Gui de Warewic and Fouke Fitzwarin, dating from the mid-twelfth to the mid-thirteenth century. These are analysed in terms of subject matter and the treatment of main themes, and their patronage and background are also investigated. This shows that Anglo-Norman romance is characterised by a preference for historical subject matter and for associated themes and attitudes, that amour courtois and courtoisie, like the supernatural, are restrained and modified, while themes connected with feudalism are given a prominence greater than in comparable continental romance, thus apparently reflecting the interests of the original baronial audiences.

Three groups of Middle English romances are then considered. The first consists of five romances with extant Anglo-Norman versions - Havelok, Horn, Beves, Guy and Ipomadon - and the second of three romances which have posited Anglo-Norman originals - Athelston, Gamelyn and Richard Coeur de Lion. A comparison of these with Anglo-Norman romance indicates that Middle English versions are not necessarily popularisations of Anglo-Norman originals, and that the relationship of each romance to the whole tradition of Anglo-Norman romance is important. The thesis then considers a group of romances which share with the Anglo-Norman romances a courtly provincial milieu and

historical subject matter - the Arthurian romances of the Alliterative Revival - and shows how they are influenced by the earlier tradition, and by Anglo-Norman attitudes to Arthurian romance. The conclusion reached is that Anglo-Norman romance has a wider influence on a greater proportion of Middle English romance than has previously been recognised.



PART ONE

ANGLO-NORMAN ROMANCE

## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

Any study of medieval romance is inevitably beset with problems of definition and classification, and this study will prove no exception. However, there is one additional question of definition which can be dealt with at the outset, and that is of the term "Anglo-Norman", which is used variously for the purposes of history, dialectology, and literary history. The complexities of the problem are not the concern of this thesis,<sup>1</sup> for the purposes of which we follow the definition given by M. K. Pope:<sup>2</sup>

"I am taking 'Anglo-Norman' in the wide sense of the term, to denote the traditional French spoken and written in Britain from the Norman Conquest on to approximately the last quarter of the fourteenth century, i.e. up to and including writers such as Henry, Duke of Lancaster and John Gower, whose use of French, although much more correct than that of many earlier writers, has still an insular flavour."

The main concern of Anglo-Norman specialists has so far been the fight for recognition of the need for Anglo-Norman studies among French scholars, and since the 1930s it has been a winning battle.<sup>3</sup> But if the importance of Anglo-Norman studies to that of medieval French as a whole is now accepted,<sup>4</sup> the concomitant argument, that Anglo-Norman can be relevant to Middle English, has been less strongly represented. The rationality of the proposition has been tacitly acknowledged, and the work of Anglo-Norman scholars has, as we shall discuss later, resulted in a greater awareness of Anglo-Norman material. For the most part, however, the attitude among Middle English specialists is still hesitant, and the approach too narrow; a single work will be compared with its Anglo-Norman original, but when more general

questions emerge, scholars still tend to retreat behind the long-established barriers erected in the interests of the study of historical linguistics and totally inapplicable to that of medieval literature. This thesis is concerned with such more general questions, and, it is hoped, approaches the language question with as much interest and as little prejudice as the authors and public of its subject matter.

In order to consider the relationship between the Middle English romances and their Anglo-Norman predecessors, it is first necessary to make an objective analysis of the Anglo-Norman romances themselves. Individual Anglo-Norman romances have of course been discussed by Middle English specialists often enough in the past, but only those which by sheer chance happen also to be extant in Middle English versions, and only too rarely has any attention been given to their own literary principles and milieu.

This thesis therefore begins with an examination of the corpus of extant Anglo-Norman romance, independent of Middle English developments, and making no distinction between works which have Middle English counterparts and those which do not. This takes into account the relevant historical and literary background, and thus it is hoped to arrive at a working profile of Anglo-Norman romance which can be used when considering the debt Middle English writers owe to their predecessors. This also means that the question can be viewed chronologically, thus avoiding the misleading habit too common among students of later Middle English, of approaching early medieval works as it were backwards, viewing the twelfth century as an appendage of the fourteenth. This approach should help in establishing to what



extent the differences between Anglo-Norman and Middle English works are due to the passage of time rather than to the change in language or audience.

This method involves covering much ground in terms of both time and literary material, and while this inevitably contains dangers and difficulties, it is hoped that it will at least suggest a framework within which further work can be undertaken.

The character and development of Anglo-Norman romance can only be understood in terms of its origins in early post-Conquest society and literature. The transitional period immediately following the Conquest in which vernacular literature in England is practically non-existent, is the very period in which the followers of the Conqueror were settling in their new lands, inter-marrying and, likely enough, becoming bilingual as a result. When Anglo-Norman literature does begin to appear in the twelfth century, it is an insular literature produced by an insular society.

The political contacts between Normandy and England before the Conquest had been close if not always harmonious.<sup>5</sup> Emma, sister of Duke Richard II of Normandy had married first Ethelred and then Canute, of England, and her son Edward the Confessor was brought up in Normandy and probably hoped that William would succeed him. The common Scandinavian heritage was still in evidence in both countries; until 1026 each Duke of Normandy was half-Danish, and for some years after the settlement of Normandy it was still considered necessary for the Duke to speak the Norse tongue.<sup>6</sup> All this could provide a link with that half of England that had been in the Danelaw, and indeed after the Conquest special links with Scandinavia were maintained, Danes and Norwegians still enjoying trading concessions as late as the reign of Henry I.<sup>7</sup>

The rate of inter-marriage and evidence of an early awareness of national identity<sup>8</sup> have led historians to the

conclusion that, if the Conqueror's legacy had been disposed of as he intended, the Norman conquerors would soon have been assimilated into the fabric of English society.<sup>9</sup> As it happened, the weakness of Robert Curthose, and his eventual defeat by Henry I at Tinchebrai in 1106, reunited the two halves of William's domain, and ensured that the course of English history remained indivisible from that of Northern France for more than a century. Some fifty years later the accession of Henry II bound the fortunes of England even more closely, and in literary terms, more significantly, with those of France.

Thus the cultural history of England from the eleventh to the thirteenth century reflects the successive waves of French influence. To identify such influence by language alone, however, can be misleading. The original followers of William did not necessarily identify themselves with those who followed in the wake of Matilda, Eleanor, John or the Lusignans; indeed, there is evidence enough to suggest the opposite - that a sense of their own identity was sharpened by each new influx from the continent; One symptom of this was the interest in pre-Conquest history that characterises early Anglo-Norman culture, from royal claims of continuity with the pre-Conquest dynasty to an interest in historical and legendary figures, both secular and saintly, that led to a wealth of anecdotal chronicle and pseudo-history, and the cults of Anglo-Saxon saints, in particular that of Edward the Confessor.<sup>10</sup>

The first major literary development of the young Anglo-Norman society was thus that group of Latin historians, products of a mixed culture and often personally of mixed parentage,<sup>11</sup>



who combined to produce what a modern historian has called "one of the outstanding moments of historical research".<sup>12</sup> The subject of their interest was England, and this subject was one of the first to be taken up by others writing for a wider audience, which identified itself with the insular past.<sup>13</sup> The most remarkable product of this enthusiasm is of course the Historia of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but no less important here is the appearance of the vernacular chronicles of Gaimar, Wace, Benoit and a number of imitators, copiers and adapters.

The historical impulse behind the literature of this period in both Latin and Anglo-Norman is of significance for us, and needs to be stressed in view of an over-emphasis sometimes laid on the specifically religious and didactic nature of Anglo-Norman literature.<sup>14</sup> However, the connexion established during this period between hagiography, chronicle, and romance was maintained throughout the period we are considering and, while our close attention in this thesis is confined to the romance, it is necessary to recognise the significance of these related genres at the outset.

One result of this interest in the history of their new land is the willingness and eagerness of the immigrant aristocracy to discover and exploit native story and legend, whether English, Danish or Celtic. The saints' lives and chronicles of Anglo-Saxon tradition, the sagas of the Danelaw, the myths and legends of the Welsh marches,<sup>15</sup> were taken up with enthusiasm and carried via the lingua franca of French into the heart of Europe.

While there is little evidence of the state of vernacular literature in England between the Conquest and the reign of Henry I, a significant number of chanson de geste manuscripts -

in some cases the earliest or unique copies - are Anglo-Norman.<sup>16</sup> It is also of interest that Turolde, whether he be scribe or author of the Roland, has a Norman name, and that William of Malmesbury saw fit to report the Taillefer legend.<sup>17</sup> It is during the reign of Henry I that Anglo-Norman literature first appears, under the aegis of the two queens, the Scottish Maud and Adeliza of Louvain, both of whom patronised literature of a religious and didactic nature.<sup>18</sup> The Latin chroniclers continued their work during the reign of Stephen; Robert of Gloucester encouraged both the fertile imaginings of Geoffrey of Monmouth<sup>19</sup> and the more sober work of William of Malmesbury, and on behalf of less prominent patrons, Gaimar wrote the first of many vernacular Bruts for Constance FitzGilbert,<sup>20</sup> and Sanson de Nantuil his Proverbs for Alice de Condet.<sup>21</sup>

It was the reign of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine that confirmed the ascendancy of the "explosion littéraire du XIIe siècle en Angleterre".<sup>22</sup> The influence of their court on literary developments in England and on the Continent has been fully documented and discussed.<sup>23</sup> Henry himself was a generous and consistent patron with a marked inclination for works of a historical and practical nature, from the chronicles of Wace, Benoit and Ailred to John of Tilbury's "Ars notoria".<sup>24</sup> Such interests were, of course, consistent with the character of his rule, the chronicles contributing to his claim of centralised power, the writings on law and administration enabling his servants to exercise that power. This functional attitude to literature is equally apparent in his political exploitation of the Arthurian legend.<sup>25</sup> Eleanor's interest seems to have been more genuine and



less utilitarian and even if some of the claims made for the extent of her personal patronage are perhaps exaggerated, there can be no doubt of her immense influence, especially in her encouragement of troubadour poetry and its immediate successor, the courtly romance.<sup>26</sup> The greatest names of twelfth century literature, Chretien, Thomas, Wace and Marie, are associated with Eleanor, her court and family.<sup>27</sup>

This literary activity, in both Latin and the vernacular, is essentially international, as was the culture of the court that commissioned it. With the accession of Henry, England became part of the extensive Plantagenet empire, the length and breadth of which was traversed by the itinerant royal court. But ties with Europe extended beyond those with France; the aristocracy of England were aware, for example, of the activity of their counterparts and relations in the south of Italy. John of Salisbury and William of York were among many scholars who travelled to Salerno and Palermo to return with stories of fabulous wealth and splendour, and the marriage of Henry's daughter Joan to William II of Sicily in 1176 aroused great interest.<sup>28</sup> Such interest, combined with the widening of horizons due to the Crusades, and the freedom of movement and thought that characterised the twelfth century,<sup>29</sup> increased the cosmopolitan nature of Anglo-Norman society. It is of course the time of the "Twelfth Century Renaissance", of a quickening of activity and interest in all intellectual, artistic and theological spheres, of the growing influence of the schools of Paris and the Arab translators of Spain. There is no need here to enlarge on this subject, so fully treated by Haskins and others, and it is in the main the history

of Latin rather than vernacular culture, a history that only touches on the edges of our subject. But it is worth remembering that it is in the background. Thus the romances we shall consider may be concerned with Ireland or Provence, Geoffrey of Monmouth or Andreas, chaplain of the court of Champagne, are equally important literary influences, crusades and dynastic marriages mingle with more local events to give plot material.

The rebellion of the Young King marks the end of this remarkable court culture, for with the imprisonment of Eleanor from 1173, the literary activity of the Angevin court more or less ceased. In terms of Anglo-Norman romance, however, the most productive period comes after this, but it takes place, not at the royal court, but in the baronial households. So, while it has been usual to associate Eleanor with purely romantic literature and to see the result of her disgrace in the upsurge of old-style 'epic' writing,<sup>30</sup> it would seem to be more accurate to see her as a patron of many kinds of literature, and her disgrace meaning, as far as England is concerned, that the literary initiative passes out of the royal court to the courts of the aristocracy.

In order to assess the type of literature that resulted, it is first necessary to consider two of the most important vernacular works to come from the Angevin court, the Brut of Wace and the Tristan of Thomas.

The Roman de Brut<sup>31</sup> of Wace is one of the most typical literary products of the Angevin court, combining as it were the tastes of Henry and Eleanor, in an amalgam of history and romance which was to have far-reaching effects on literature in both France and England. Completed by 'maistre Wace' in 1155,<sup>32</sup> it is an official work, which received royal recognition if not actually commissioned for the court. In this it differs from the chronicle it superseded, that of Gaimar, who like Wace, turned the history of the Britons into French octosyllabics.<sup>33</sup> As Bezzola points out,<sup>34</sup> the simple fact of Wace's royal patronage is enough to explain the success of his chronicle over that of a provincial clerk, without recourse to any theories of literary preference.

The main source for Wace, as for Gaimar, was the Historia of Geoffrey of Monmouth,<sup>35</sup> and his importance, particularly with regard to the subject of this thesis, lies in his attitude towards and his treatment of, his historical theme. Geoffrey of Monmouth's chronicle is painstakingly sober, a Latin history written for an educated audience which could perhaps be lulled into acceptance of its dubious material by the propriety of its style. Not so with Wace, who was re-casting a Latin chronicle, by now famous and widely accepted, in the vernacular for an audience of courtiers. He expands his material, using the techniques of amplification,<sup>36</sup> introduces new tales, extra detail and emotional interest,<sup>37</sup> and transforms Geoffrey's chronicle into a new kind of literature, precisely suited to the demands of his time and his audience, and one which links him with the developing romance tradition.<sup>38</sup>



Wace has the ability, necessary to chroniclers and historical novelists alike, to impart a sense of familiarity to his historical material. In part this takes the form of the usual medieval habit of presenting the past in terms of the present, and in part it leads to the realism which was to be one of his most important legacies to later writers in the vernacular. Unlike the authors of the classical romances he is not interested in the exotic, and the supernatural evidently lost its attraction when it failed the test of practical experience in the famous visit to Brocielande.<sup>39</sup> History, as presented by Wace, does not aim to enthral, or amaze, or to provide an escape from present reality, but to entertain, to idealise, and to instruct. Probably the most important, and certainly the most interesting results of his taste for modernisation and idealisation are evident in his version of Arthur and his court.

Hints of courtliness and chivalry are to be found in the Arthurian section of the Historia,<sup>40</sup> but they are greatly expanded by Wace, and it is in his version that the Round Table makes its first appearance in literature, causing much scholarly debate as to its sources and significance.<sup>41</sup> Theoretically, it marks a departure from the normal type of a feudal court, symbolising as it does an elite democracy in which the king is merely primum inter pares. In effect, it is left to Wace's successors to embroider upon the theme of a group of knights devoted to chivalric virtues, and in his Arthurian section as a whole, Arthur is as much the feudal autocrat as he is in Geoffrey. But his presentation of the court itself as a centre of chivalry<sup>42</sup> is flamboyant, confident and immensely influential. The feudal solemnity and

archaic richness of Geoffrey's description has been developed into a crowded, animated scene, in which wealth, leisure and civilisation contribute to a new ideal of life. Is Wace's account descriptive or prescriptive? The differences between his version and Geoffrey's probably reflect to some extent those between the court of the first Henry<sup>43</sup> and that of his grandson, and while no doubt both are flattering, the change in ideals is significant. Whatever its original aim, we shall see that the ideal of courtoisie as conveyed in Wace's description of Arthur's court was to prove extremely influential.

The Brut is of interest to the present discussion, not only because it is one of the earliest works in which chivalry and courtoisie receive serious treatment, but because this happens in a work which is historical not fabulous, and in which the history is that of Britain, not of Troy, Rome or France. Wace was a chronicler, not a romance writer, but some of his closest imitators are the romance writers of France, to whom the British background was, if not as exotic as Byzantium or Greece, at least foreign. But one group of Wace's successors would view his material rather differently. For the Anglo-Norman public, Wace was providing a history of their own lands, describing the successive reigns of various monarchs already famous in local legend or monastic chronicle, and, in his Arthurian section, glorifying one from whom their own king claimed descent.<sup>44</sup> In England, therefore, it seems possible to identify three differing reactions to Wace's work. Firstly, in the Lais of Marie de France<sup>45</sup> and derivative works, the Breton element is emphasised and given its head - the fabulous and the magical is all, and the historical

framework becomes a mere technicality. The second, and perhaps most predictable result, was that an insular writer should emphasise the native quality of Wace's subject, stripping many of the cosmopolitan and fashionable aspects of the Norman's treatment to give one more consistent with insular traditions; the result is the Brut of Layamon. The third was that insular authors should be encouraged by Wace's precedent to create local histories from traditional legends, exploiting the fashionable image of an idealised past that had been created by Wace and Geoffrey before them. The results of this are the subject of the next two chapters; the fortunes of Wace's Arthurian material will be discussed later.

Wace's style, like his material, marks a successful challenge to the earlier narrative tradition of the chansons. His use of the octosyllabic couplet and adaptation of rhetorical devices for the vernacular make him the most important stylistic influence in that vernacular before Chretien.<sup>46</sup> His stylistic achievement is most evident, most individual and most influential in certain set passages<sup>47</sup> - Briant disguised as a beggar, Arthur's crown-wearing, descriptions of a storm, a battle or a town - which, as we shall see, were to survive, still recognisable, as part of the romance writer's repertoire, for well over a century.

A measure of the prolonged successes of the Brut is provided by the number of extant manuscripts,<sup>48</sup> but the extent of Wace's direct influence on French romance has been the subject of some disagreement.<sup>49</sup> Thomas's Tristan, the Roman d'Aeneas, the romances of Chretien, and the Lais of Marie de France, amongst others, have all been seen to owe much to Wace. But the complexity



of the dating of early French romance, and the formulaic quality of the octosyllabic style, mean that the more extensive claims cannot be proved. However, Wace's importance is beyond a doubt, and his influence on later developments in Anglo-Norman, which has received considerably less attention, was to prove deep and lasting.

One of the most important of the romances influenced by the Brut of Wace<sup>50</sup> is the version of the Tristan legend as related by the otherwise unknown Thomas.<sup>51</sup> It survives only in fragments and in view of the complex development of the Tristan legend, is difficult to date: most scholars now accept that the Brut provides a terminus a quo of 1155, and if the association with the court of Henry and Eleanor is accepted, as seems reasonable, the latest date likely for the poem is 1173.<sup>52</sup> Even in its fragmentary condition, it is one of the greatest works of medieval French literature, and has received its full due of attention from scholars and critics. What follows does not attempt to be a complete account of the poem, but in order to bring out points relevant to the later development of Anglo-Norman romance, it is necessary to summarise the nature of Thomas's achievement and its impact on his contemporaries.

In the Tristan of Thomas the themes and concepts of the doctrine of fin'amors, previously expounded in the lyrics of the troubadours, find their most direct narrative expression;<sup>53</sup> this it is that distinguishes the poem and earned it wide fame and censure. Doctrines and ideas which were allusive and intangible in the lyrics<sup>54</sup> now revealed their uncompromising nature

in full length narrative. The typical medieval response was to codify the new material into recognisable and acceptable precepts, as in the writings of Andreas Capellanus and Chretien de Troyes, but Thomas's poem shows that, accepted without qualifications or compromise, the doctrine of fin'amors consisted of a total demand, which could be swayed by neither religious nor social considerations. "leur amour est leur loi, il est leur religion".<sup>55</sup>

Scholars long attributed the intractable nature of the romance to the primitive sources of the Tristan legend - that given material from which Thomas tries, without, it seems, much success, to make a courtly romance. The cornerstone of this interpretation is the love philtre, symbol of the Celtic geis, the accidental drinking of which condemns the lovers to the grip of a fated and fateful passion, over-ruling all reason and leading inevitably to death. By this reading of the poem, Thomas, a medieval poet of the court, is handling material which is essentially unmedieval and uncourtly: it is primitive, inchoate and tragic, instead of sophisticated, systematic and, in the profoundest sense of the word, comic.<sup>56</sup>

But in 1963 Jean Frappier published an article which questions the fundamental assumptions of this approach.<sup>57</sup> He deduces from a clue in Tristan's dying speech<sup>58</sup> that in Thomas's version of earlier events, the love between Tristan and Isolde grew gradually throughout the Irish sequence and that the love philtre is a symbol of the recognition of the nature of that love, rather than the cause of it. By this reading, the love of Tristan and Isolde is not an accidental stroke of fate - and therefore essentially uncourtly - but a state entered into by the exercise



of free choice and rational judgement.<sup>59</sup> Thomas's "courtly" version of the Tristan legend is thus more courtly than had previously been allowed. But if by rewriting the earlier part of the legend Thomas has removed the stigma of uncourtliness from the poem, he has also invalidated the plea of mitigation, as much for himself as for the lovers. If the lovers are responsible for their love then so is Thomas, for his presentation of it, and the potion no longer symbolises a force contrary to fin'amors, but a commitment to it.<sup>60</sup>

The implications of this are evident when the reaction to Thomas's poem is considered. If later writers condemn Thomas's theme, they are not necessarily reacting against the primitive quality of the given material, but against his uncompromising presentation of fin'amors itself. It has often been remarked that there is no proof that the "Tristan" against which Chretien, for example, reacted is the version by Thomas and not that by Beroul.<sup>61</sup> But by virtue of its very coarseness, Beroul's "common"<sup>62</sup> version poses fewer problems and is less of a challenge to accepted moral standards than is Thomas's. There is a delight in deceit and embarrassment which is suggestive of the fabliaux, as much interest in the machinations of the plot as in the course of the love itself, and an externalisation of event and character which dilutes the legend into a sequence of tales, guaranteed to amuse and entertain, but not to offend or disturb.

Thomas's version, on the other hand, is a serious and disturbing presentation of the same material, open to censure on several scores, but ultimately ambiguous. The love of Tristan and Isolde, being adulterous, was clearly contrary to the precepts

of accepted morals and the teaching of the Church. That fin 'amors is of necessity adulterous has long been debated and is surely by now rejected, but Tristan and Isolde, with Launcelot and Guenevere, are the strongest evidence for this argument. While ecclesiastical and moral condemnation would therefore be likely, there is evidence enough to show that among the writers and audiences of the new courtly literature, adultery was not in itself a cause for criticism.

Chretien's reaction, as manifest in Cligès, suggests that Tristan was too uncourtly for current tastes. Whatever the origins of the love, its expression was too unbridled, too undisciplined, totally lacking in the educative quality so important to Chretien. The love of Tristan and Isolde, far from ennobling their characters and enhancing their reputations, renders them desperate and ostracises them from that very courtly society which is the sine qua non of courtly literature. Thus Cligès, Chretien's "anti-Tristan", contains not only the explicit condemnation of Isolde by Fenice, who has a claim to greater fastidiousness if not to greater honesty, but also the implicit critical comparison with the love between Alexander and Soredamours, which is refined, restrained and edifying. Even in Chretien's Launcelot the demands of love are less extreme, the consequences, both spiritual and social, less far-reaching than in Tristan; Chretien, as Bezzola points out,<sup>63</sup> likes a happy ending.

The response of Chretien, Gottfried and others to Tristan have been discussed fully<sup>64</sup> and are not of immediate concern here. What is more relevant to the present discussion is the reaction of those authors who followed Thomas in the field of Anglo-Norman

romance, and I would suggest that their unanimous, if often implicit, condemnation stems from yet another source of disquiet.

The main problem with any version of the Tristan legend is that the two protagonists are rendered unsympathetic by their actions, and Thomas's are no exception even when they are judged by courtly standards. In the character of Tristan, as portrayed by Thomas, the outcome of the traditional conflict between love and prowess is a foregone conclusion. Tristan is not a chivalric hero, despite Thomas's intermittent attempts to make him so - a discordant note is sounded by a conventional phrase used to describe his journey with Kaherdin to England:

E vunt s'en dreit en Engleterre  
Aventure e eur conquerre D.789-90

The sole purpose of the journey is, of course, to see Isolde; Tristan is not concerned with "aventure e eur". Throughout the poem there is a contradiction between Tristan's public and private identities or, to be more precise, between his identity as a courtly hero and that of the legendary hero inherited by Thomas from an archetype which knew nothing of chivalry or its virtues.

Robertson's stern criticism of Chaucer's Troilus is far more suitably applied to Isolde: "no mere sinner in the flesh (she) is too far gone in idolatry, too much a loyal servant of Cupid, to seek solace elsewhere."<sup>65</sup> It is this absolute fidelity which causes the ugly side of her character to appear, as it does in her treatment of Brangvane, her exploitation of Mark's genuine feeling, and her own contrasting deceit and hypocrisy.

But, as this suggests, the most telling criticism in the poem comes from the minor characters, who are drawn by Thomas with a depth and compassion that is bound to reflect unfavourably on the



lovers. The pattern of deception and eventual tragedy spreads out to include Mark, Brangvane and Iseult of the White Hands,<sup>66</sup> and the author takes pains to emphasise their sufferings. Thus Thomas makes of Mark not the traditional "Jaloux", but a sympathetic, dignified character and so removes any easy justification for Isolde's infidelity. Brangvane also is largely Thomas's creation - nowhere else in romance is the confidante so much a character in her own right, so much part of the development of events, or given so vital a role in the moral orientation of the work. In the quadruple question d'amour<sup>67</sup> the character and plight of Mark are balanced by those of Iseult, for whom Thomas makes every allowance; her hatred is the inevitable product of her frustrated love for Tristan, and even the occasion of her fatal eavesdropping is motivated with a touch of ironic pathos:

En sun quer s'esmerveille Ysolt  
 Qu'estre paise qu'il faire volt,  
 Se le secle vule gurpir,  
 Muine u chanuine devenir;  
 Mult par est en grant effrei.

D.1099-1103

There is an element of the moniage theme here, but her fear reveals how little she knows of Tristan and how much she has been deceived. There can be no condemnation after this, but then Thomas never condemns; he is in many ways a most unusual medieval author. Thus love does not only destroy Tristan and Isolde, it destroys those nearest them, and more important, the tone of the romance is such that this is held against them.

In no way is Tristan more a product of the twelfth century than in its constant reference to the standards and ethics of feudalism: in this respect it is, as we shall see, close to the later Anglo-Norman tradition. The magnificent confrontation

between Isolde and Brangvane<sup>68</sup> derives its power from the ethics of the feudal world brought in to challenge the justification of Isolde's behaviour. Brangvane condemns Isolde not by recourse to morality, religious doctrine, nor an appeal to her individual conscience, but by stressing the dishonour that her conduct entails:

Tant avez usé l'amur  
Ublié en avez honur

D. 265-6

and the shame that spreads from her to the cuckolded Mark and then contaminates all whom it concerns:

Il l'ad suffert si lungement  
Huniz en est a tute sa gent.  
Le nés vus en deüst trencher  
U autrement aparailer  
Que hunie en fusez tuz dis:  
Grant joie fust a voz enmis.  
L'en vus deüst faire grant huntage,  
Quant hunissez vostre langage,  
Voz amis a vostre seingnur

D. 271-9

It is clear that we are in the same world as the chansons, from the theme of the mutilation of female traitors to the overriding importance of shame. Thomas is writing within an ethical framework in which shame, witnessed by one's peers, and contaminating one's associates, is to be feared more than an internalised guilt, which is a private concern between an individual, his conscience, or his God. The passage is reminiscent of Oliver's reproof when Roland finally decides to sound his horn:<sup>69</sup>

... Vergoignésereit grant  
E reprover a trestuz voz parenz,  
Iceste hunte dureit al lur vivant.

Brangvane's outburst is of importance as an indication of the moral bearings of the poem. The conflict is not between love and chivalry as in "Erec et Enide", nor between love and religion as in the romances of Guy of Warwick, but between love

and feudalism.<sup>70</sup> This is not, of course, an adequate description of Thomas's poem, which is clearly a complex work raising more questions than it provides answers. But it would seem, for reasons which will become evident later, that it was this aspect of the romance which most concerned Thomas's immediate successors in Anglo-Norman.

Thomas thus destroys the carefully constructed unity of outlook and ideal of the individual and his society which was the subject of twelfth century romance. He does so with a use of realism<sup>71</sup> and stylistic innovations<sup>72</sup> which were both to prove very influential. Equally lasting, if not more so, was his thematic contribution to the romance tradition - motifs, incidents and sentiments - which received powerful expression in his poem, being echoed even by poets critical of the wider implications of the Tristan.<sup>73</sup>

Thomas is an enigmatic author, showing a reluctance to commit himself to a subjective judgement that is unusual among romance writers. Despite Frappier's description of him as a "théologien de la fine amour",<sup>74</sup> he is not primarily interested in doctrine or morality, but in psychology. From the troubadours he takes his analytical terms, his interest in emotional situation rather than narrative action, his stress on physical love and his perceptive analysis of sexual jealousy. He extends his terms of reference to take in the examination of the causes, growth and consequences of hatred as well as those of love. Even more than the troubadours he is interested in the frustration of desire rather than its fulfilment, dismissing the night of reunion in a few lines, but dwelling at length on the suspense and delays that



afflict the lovers. The descriptions of character, not in terms of appearance, nor even of action, but in terms of the internal conflicts set up by the opposing demands of emotion and situation, and the depth of interest in minor characters, testify to Thomas's real talent. It is not a talent for dramatising abstract theory, as is Chretien's, nor, primarily, even for writing poetry, but a gift for the analysis of conflict. It is this interest that leads to the ambiguity of the poem: his apparent theme and his didacticism are not easy to reconcile with the sympathetic interest he takes in the two protagonists. Tristan and Isolde are not admirable characters by any standards. Their love, far from being presented as enriching, is volubly condemned by the ethics of contemporary society as voiced by Brangvane. Yet one hesitates before a statement of Thomas's own viewpoint. At the end of the romance the strictures of society are forgotten: in the scene in which Isolde rushes through the Breton town to discover Tristan dead and to die herself, Thomas's poetry is such that the earlier censure is inadmissible. The ambiguity of the poet's position remains - does he condemn his lovers through Brangvane and their own actions, or does he finally consider all justified in the name of "amur"? His envoie is quite confident: he assumes full responsibility for what he has written and recommends it as an example for lovers - yet the terms of the recommendation are typically enigmatic:

Tumas fine ci sun escrit:  
 A tuz amanz saluz i dit,  
 .....  
 Pur essample issi ai fait  
 Pur l'estorie embelir,  
 Que as amanz deive plaisir,  
 E que par lieus poissent trover  
 Choses u se puissent recorder:  
 Aveir em poissent grant confort  
 Encuntre change, encontre tort,  
 Encuntre paine, encuntre dolur,  
 Encuntre tuiz engins d'amur!

Sn. 820-1; 831-9

In the works of Wace and Thomas, the chronicler and the romancer, we have an indication of the scope of ideas, themes and styles available to the writers of Anglo-Norman romance. The choice ranged from a full-scale national epic to the analysis of a single relationship, from a response to the Anglo-Norman enthusiasm for history to that to the Provençal fashion for emotional introspection. The number of extant manuscripts is evidence of the widespread interest both works aroused.<sup>75</sup> Further evidence is available in the works of those who succeeded them on this side of the Channel; dwarves, to apply the familiar metaphor, in the footsteps of giants, only too rarely approaching the heights of their predecessors.



CHAPTER TWO:

Anglo-Norman Romance

(a) The Material

The romances considered here represent the major part of romance writing in Anglo-Norman from the Conquest to the disappearance of the dialect as a literary language in England - ten works in all, covering a time span of more than a century. The classification "romance" and the term "Anglo-Norman" have both been stretched a little. Thus the two Anglo-Norman versions of the tale of Haveloc have been included, as they are of importance when Middle English romance comes to be considered, although neither belongs to the romance genre, one being part of a chronicle, the other a lai. However, it is advisable that these two forms should be represented as their development is inextricably bound up with that of the romance. The term "Anglo-Norman", as has already been stated, is used in the linguistic rather than the historical sense, but even so it is clear from the cultural history of England and France that this linguistic division would make too narrow a literary one,<sup>1</sup> and indeed several acknowledged Anglo-Norman works survive only in continental versions and manuscripts, and vice versa. The romance of Fergus has therefore been included, following the example of Professor Legge in Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background, for although written in continental French, it was originally intended for an insular audience and, as one of the "ancestral"<sup>2</sup> romances, both draws on and contributes to insular literature. Omissions from a possible

list of romances include the work of Robert de Borron, originator of the Graal vogue, now generally considered to be of continental origin, although possibly settled in England,<sup>3</sup> and Guillaume d'Angleterre, not so much because it exists only in continental French<sup>4</sup> as because the subject matter is such that it is better considered as a saint's life than as a romance; the same applies to the Anglo-Norman version of Amis e Amilun.<sup>5</sup> The two fragmentary romances, Amadas et Ydoine and the Roman de Toute Chevalerie, are also omitted. The remaining ten romances are the original versions or analogues of five Middle English romances - the Romance of Horn, the two versions of Haveloc, Boeve de Hamtoun, Ipomedon and Gui de Warewic - two which have had English counterparts, now lost - Waldef and Fouke Fitzwarin - and two associated romances - Protheselaus and Fergus.

#### Gaimar's Estorie and the Lai d'Haveloc

The Estorie des Engleis of Geoffrey Gaimar<sup>6</sup> is the earliest chronicle in the French language, being written c.1138,<sup>7</sup> and is the ancestor of the Anglo-Norman and English "Brut" tradition.<sup>8</sup> It is of interest to us here as it includes the earliest extant version of the tale of Haveloc, in an episode of some 750 lines inserted into the beginning of the chronicle. The most recent editor<sup>9</sup> suggests that Gaimar drew on local legend, oral tradition and written historical records, and that he met the Haveloc tale after he had begun his chronicle; thus he inserted it into the earlier part, after the death of Arthur, where the chronology was confused enough to absorb the reign of a fictitious king.<sup>10</sup>

Certain passages, most notably the dream of Argentille, seem to have been added to bring the material up to date.

Gaimar's version is not a self-contained literary work as is the Lai d'Haveloc,<sup>11</sup> a carefully fashioned piece of just over 1100 lines, also written in octosyllabic couplets, and dating from the turn of the twelfth century.<sup>12</sup> The language of the poem suggests that the author was an immigrant from the continent, recently arrived in Lincolnshire.<sup>13</sup> The main source is obviously Gaimar, but it has been refashioned as a Breton lai, under the influence of Marie de France.<sup>14</sup> Additional details seem to have been gathered from local tradition, probably received by the author in the form of a translated summary of oral versions - there is no evidence to suggest that the author of the Lai knew English as did Gaimar.<sup>15</sup> Both authors have thus made use of local knowledge: Gaimar's reflects the double locality of his patrons who owned land in both Lincolnshire and Hampshire,<sup>16</sup> and the Lai shows a marked increase in the "civic propaganda"<sup>17</sup> of the Grimsby part of the tale, an element to be further increased in the English version.<sup>18</sup> The summary which follows shows that their material does not vary much in essentials. The Lai (L) is influenced to a greater extent by romance style and elaborates on motive and emotion, while Gaimar's account (G) is straightforward and shows more interest in the hero. Both are historical treatments, with that romanticising of history which, in the hands of Anglo-Norman writers, does not render the "history" unrecognisable.



G. begins with the orphaning of Argentille and the usurpation of her rights by the villain, Edelsi, who marries her to his scullion, Cuheran. L. begins with the orphaning of Haveloc, son of the king of Denmark, the flight to England and the founding of Grimsby by the baron Grim, who sends the young Haveloc to King Edelsi's court at Lincoln, where he is employed as a cook, and is forced to marry the king's niece, Argentille. In both versions Argentille now suspects her husband's origins, and they go to Grimsby where, in G., Haveloc's foster-sister discloses the truth for the first time. They then go to Denmark, where they meet the ex-steward, Sigar, who is the centre of opposition to the usurper Edulf, and who eventually recognises Haveloc with the help of the royal flame. Sigar acclaims Haveloc king and summons an army. After a battle in G., a single combat in L., Edulf is defeated and in L. Haveloc has four years of peaceful rule in Denmark. They then travel to England with an army and defeat Edelsi with the help of a trick with corpses which is suggested by Argentille, and finally rule both kingdoms in peace.

### The Romance of Horn

The Romance of Horn<sup>19</sup> was written c.1170,<sup>20</sup> and consists of 5240<sup>21</sup> alexandrine lines, arranged in the laisses of the chansons, to which it owes much in style and attitude. The author names himself as "mestre Thomas",<sup>22</sup> and it is now generally accepted that he is not the Thomas who wrote Tristan, nor "Thomas of Kent", author of the Roman de Toute Chevalerie.<sup>23</sup> According to the author, Horn is the middle section of a trilogy; he discusses his earlier work, the (presumably) lost Aaluf, the story of Horn's father, and suggests that his own son, Gilimot, will continue with the history of Hadermod, Horn's son. The poem's editor suggests that Thomas is using English sources,<sup>24</sup> a theory corroborated by the author of Waldef,<sup>25</sup> and these would

appear to consist of two traditional tales, one dealing with the hero's efforts to regain his inheritance, and the other with the love between Horn and Rigmel.<sup>26</sup> The author shows considerable skill in manipulating these two themes, increasing the complexity of his originals, and emphasising the parallels and contrasts between them.

A Saracen raiding party led by King Rodmund invades Suddene, killing its king, Aaluf. Aaluf's son Horn, with fifteen companions, is found hiding from the raiders and so impresses King Rodmund that the children are condemned to be set adrift in a rudderless boat rather than be killed at once. The boat drifts to Brittany where the children are found by Herland, seneschal to King Hunlaf. Again, Horn charms both Herland and Hunlaf and the children are reared by barons of the court. Horn, educated by Herland, grows up to excel in every military and courtly skill, and his fame is such that Rigmel, Hunlaf's daughter, falls in love without even seeing him, and persuades Herland to arrange a meeting. Horn refuses to pledge his love until he has proved himself worthy, which he does shortly afterwards by leading the defeat of a Saracen invasion. He becomes increasingly influential at court, until he and Rigmel are slandered by Wikele, one of his companions. Refusing to clear his name by any method except judicial combat, Horn leaves Brittany, after receiving a ring from Rigmel, who agrees to wait seven years for his return. Assuming the identity of Gudmod, a poor mercenary, Horn arrives in Ireland, where he joins the retinue of Egfer, younger son of King Gudreche. Ireland is at peace for some years, during which Horn impresses the court with his abilities at courtly pastimes, and fends off the suit of Lenburc, Gudreche's daughter. Peace finally ends with an invasion led by Rodmund's brothers, which is defeated by Horn after both Irish princes are killed. Gudreche offers him his daughter and kingdom, but Horn remains faithful to Rigmel. At this point his true identity is revealed by Herland's son Jocerand, who arrives with the news that Rigmel is to be married to King Modin at the instigation of Wikele. Disguised as a palmer, Horn returns to Brittany with an army, and makes himself known to Rigmel at the wedding feast by means of her ring. Assured of her fidelity, he defeats Modin in a duel and threatens Hunlaf's city. Hunlaf makes peace,



Horn and Rigmel are married, and Wikele forgiven; Horn now sets out to reconquer Suddene, kills Rodmund and is reunited with his mother, who has been in hiding. Meanwhile in Brittany, Wikele has seized power from the ageing Hunlaf, and plans to marry Rigmel. Horn returns, defeats and kills him, and having arranged suitable matches for the Irish princesses, he and Rigmel live happily in Suddene.

Probably the first Anglo-Norman romance to be written after Thomas's Tristan, Horn shows a familiarity with that poem<sup>27</sup> and with a wide range of contemporary French literature. The chansons known to the author include Roland, Ogier le Danois, Gormont, and possibly Le Corronnement Loois.<sup>28</sup> He takes many stylistic traits from the chansons, including choric speech, proverbs and antithesis, and from the romance, especially the Eneas and Tristan, comes his interest in courtliness, his presentation of character, and much that is most effective in his imagery and vocabulary.<sup>29</sup>

The author of Horn is in complete control of his material, using the situations and language of both literary traditions as it suits his purpose, and showing qualities of narrative ability and subtlety of approach which set him apart from most of his successors in Anglo-Norman. There is no evidence to suggest that he had a direct knowledge of Wace, and the story of Horn, while historical, is less firmly attached to a particular locality or family than the material of other Anglo-Norman romances. Horn is, however, the prime example of Anglo-Norman romance at its best and was, as we shall see, to prove extremely influential.

Boeve de Haumtone

Boeve de Haumtone<sup>30</sup> dates originally from the last quarter of the twelfth century,<sup>31</sup> but is extant only in two long independent fragments, both dating from the thirteenth century, and overlapping to give a total of some 4,000 lines.<sup>32</sup> Both fragments are in laisses, and the romance shows a similar combination of chanson and romance material and style as the Romance of Horn, although in this case the author displays no such skill in his handling of the material.

Boeve has been described as a "racial saga" of Scandinavian origin,<sup>33</sup> and as the summary shows it contains many traditional elements. However, it is from start to finish a thoroughly derivative romance, and it is more convincingly seen as such - perhaps as an attempt to equal the Romance of Horn which it resembles in so many respects<sup>34</sup> - than as the reworking of a genuine legend.

Of the two versions, independent remaniements of a lost original, the first shows the greater literary ability, especially in the enfances section. The second author is more reticent and less accomplished than the first, and both seem to have a more openly commercial relationship with their audiences than is usual in Anglo-Norman; the first contains the following appeal -

Issi com vus me orrez ja a dreit conter,  
Si vus me volez de vostre argent doner,  
Ou si noun, jeo lerrai issi ester. 434-6

and the second ends on a similar note:

Issi finist la gest, ke bien est complie,  
de Boun de Hampton o la chier hardie.  
Jeo le vus ay lui e vus l'avez oye.  
Rendez m'un servise si freyez curteysie. 3847-50

This is very different from the remarks of Thomas or Hue de Roteland, and is perhaps an indication of the extent of the difference between the original romance and the surviving versions.<sup>35</sup>

The summary shows that the action is the most important ingredient of this romance; there is more action in a short space than in any of our texts except perhaps Gui, and it leaves little room for characterisation, psychology, or philosophy. The plot is a combination of the hero's struggle, against a local background, to regain his lands and establish his family, with more exotic, Eustace-type adventures in the east, in which the fortunes of the divided family mingle with militant crusader sentiment and a touch of the burlesque in the figure of l'Escopart.

Guion earl of Southampton is murdered by his wife and her lover, the Emperor of Germany, and his son Boeve sold to Saracen merchants. In Egypt Boeve becomes the king's favourite, but refuses to abjure his religion, is courted by the king's daughter, Josiane, and returns her love when she promises to be baptised. The couple are slandered to the king by jealous courtiers and he sends Boeve to Damascus with a letter containing instructions for his own death. Boeve is thrown into a snake pit. Josiane meanwhile is married to King Yvori but preserves her virginity by means of a magic girdle. Boeve escapes and after various adventures makes his way back to Josiane in disguise. They escape, and meet Escopart, a black giant, who becomes Boeve's man, and on reaching Cologne both Josiane and Escopart are baptised. Boeve collects an army to regain his patrimony with the help of his tutor, Saboath, and defeats and kills the Emperor, and his mother kills herself. Meanwhile, Josiane has been forcibly married to count Miles but kills him on the wedding night. She is about to be executed by his followers when Boeve rescues her. They return to Southampton and live happily for some time. Boeve is given recognition and honours by the king in London, but one of the king's sons is killed by the horse, Arundel, while trying to steal him. Boeve and Josiane are exiled, leaving their lands in the care of Saboath. Josiane gives birth to



twins in a forest and is herself seized by Saracens, to be rescued by Saboath. Boeve leaves the infants with a forester, and goes to Seville where he distinguishes himself in battle and is offered the hand of the king's daughter. He agrees to marry her if Josiane does not reappear within seven years: at the last moment they are reunited, their sons are brought back by the forester, and the princess marries Saboath's son, Terri, instead. Boeve collects an army and pursues his arch-enemy, Yvori, to Egypt, where he and Josiane are reunited with her father, Yvori is captured and his army defeated. The king of Egypt dies, naming Boeve's son Gui as his heir, and Yvori escapes on Arundel. Finally Boeve kills Yvori in a single combat and seizes the Saracen capital, killing all who refuse baptism, and then he and Josiane are crowned by the Pope. News reaches them that Terri has been disinherited in England, and they return with an army. The king comes to terms, marries his daughter to Boeve's other son, Miles, who inherits the kingdom on his death. Boeve returns to Egypt to find Josiane ill; they both die on the same day, as does the horse Arundel.

The romances of Hue de Rotelande: Ipomedon and Protheselaus

Hue de Rotelande is the only Anglo-Norman author with two identifiable extant romances to his credit. Moreover, the nature of those romances makes him an interesting, if enigmatic figure. The sophistication and courtliness of his writing is evident, even in passages where his inspiration fails, as is inevitable in a total of some 23,000 lines, and it raises questions as to the cultural background of this poet of the court of the lord of Monmouth which are discussed more fully below.<sup>36</sup> The success of Ipomedon is proved by the existence of its sequel, which has little to recommend it, and which seems to arouse little interest in its author except as a further account of the characters and events of its predecessor.

We can, however, be grateful for so clear an indication of public demand. A remark at the end of Protheselaus suggests that the author is willing to continue the saga into the third generation if required;<sup>37</sup> we do not know if anything came of it.

Both romances are written in octosyllabic couplets, Ipomedon<sup>38</sup> being 10,500 lines long and Protheselaus<sup>39</sup> 12,700. In Ipomedon in particular, the author displays an easy and comprehensive grasp of the possibilities of the romance form, and the summary shows how eclectic he was in gathering material for his romances. He did not, however, seem to make use of local legend or history and his romances, set in the southern Norman kingdoms of Apulia and Calabria, lack the prosaic quality of the other Anglo-Norman romances.

The synopses show that Hue was influenced by French romance rather than by the chansons,<sup>40</sup> and he uses the commonplaces of romance with ease and effect for descriptions of character, emotion and courtly or forest settings. He makes the pun on 'amer' which is found in Thomas's Tristan, has an excellent grasp of stychomathic dialogue, and develops the personification allegory of the inner debate in a manner which has been seen as being in the direct line of descent from Chretien to Guillaume de Lorris.<sup>41</sup> There is some show of classical knowledge, which may indicate the influence of the Roman de Thebes,<sup>42</sup> but its shallowness appears in his failure to exploit names such as Helen, Hercules, Antigone and, of course, Medea.



Ipomedon

The duke of Calabria leaves an heiress known as La Fiere, who has sworn to marry only the best knight in the world. The fame of her beauty spreads to Apulia, where Ipomedon, the king's son, falls in love with her repute. He travels to La Fiere's court, where he lives incognito, refusing to join in the boasting and chivalric sports and thus gains a reputation for cowardice. After three years La Fiere is in love with him but cannot accept his lack of courage and reproaches him with it. Ipomedon leaves the court, to La Fiere's dismay, and goes home where his mother on her death bed gives him a ring and tells him that he has a lost brother. Ipomedon travels all over Europe with a small band of followers, proving his valour in various adventures. Meanwhile, La Fiere's vassals are getting impatient at her refusal to marry, and to appease them she agrees to consult her uncle, King Meleager of Sicily. He arrives in Calabria with his nephew Capaneus, and agrees to La Fiere's request for the matter to be decided by tournament. Hearing of this, Ipomedon arrives at Meleager's court and is taken on in the semi-serious position of the queen's "dru". As before, he is popular but appears to be totally uninterested in chivalric pursuits. During the three days of the tournament he ostensibly goes hunting for the queen, while in fact appearing each day in different coloured armour and defeating all comers. When the time comes to declare the result he sends his spoils to the king and disappears again. La Fiere promises to marry no one else. Meanwhile Ipomedon becomes king of Apulia on his father's death, but continues on his career of knight errantry, until he hears that La Fiere, besieged by Leonins, a hideous and unwelcome suitor, has sent out an appeal for champions. Adopting the disguise of a poor fool, he returns to Meleager's court, where he demands the challenge and sets off for Calabria with Ismeine, La Fiere's damsel. Ismeine is convinced that he is a madman, but after various adventures falls in love with him and offers to marry him, but he refuses. Ipomedon defeats Leonins without disclosing his identity, and is leaving in his opponent's armour when he is challenged by Capaneus, who has arrived with an army to save La Fiere. They fight without recognising each other, until Capaneus sees Ipomedon's ring, and reveals that he is the lost brother. La Fiere and Ipomedon are married, Ismeine is married to Ipomedon's tutor, and they all return to their respective kingdoms where they rule happily and produce many children....



Protheselaus

Ipomedon and La Fiere die, leaving two sons, Daunus, the elder, who inherits the kingdom of Apulia, while Calabria is left to the younger, Protheselaus. Daunus is persuaded by Pentalis, a treacherous baron, that Medea, widowed queen of Meleager of Sicily, has transferred her love for Ipomedon to Protheselaus, and that together they are plotting against Daunus. Daunus gives Pentalis the rule over Calabria. Meanwhile, Medea has indeed fallen in love with Protheselaus, whom she has never seen, and sends him a letter pledging her help which is intercepted by Pentalis, who changes it for one warning of her hatred for him. The usurpation of Calabria leads to a war between Daunus and Protheselaus and peace is finally reached on condition that Protheselaus leaves the country. He reaches the land of Egeon, who had been Ipomedon's squire, and here Egeon's wife, frustrated in her love for Protheselaus, betrays him into an ambush by Pentalis in which he is wounded by a poisoned spear. He sails alone to the country of Pentalis's sister, Sibile, a renowned healer. Shortening his name to 'Prothes' to avoid recognition, he goes to her court, is healed, and becomes friendly with her son, Meleander, to whom he confesses his love for Medea. They go to Medea's court, Protheselaus acting as Meleander's squire and as he distinguishes himself Medea begins to see through his disguise. Still convinced of her enmity, Protheselaus leaves hurriedly. He arrives in Lombardy, where he rescues one of his friends from the Chevalier Faez, and is entertained in a mysterious castle by a Chevalier Bloi. Arriving in Burgundy, Protheselaus learns that the now widowed Ismeine is under seige from Danish invaders and rescues her. While with Ismeine Protheselaus is trapped by a neighbouring ruler, the Pucele d'Isle, who offers him the choice between marriage to her or imprisonment. Protheselaus refuses to betray his love for Medea, kills one of his warders, and is condemned to hang. Ismeine sends an army to the rescue, which is defeated, and she then sends to Medea for help, while La Pucele sends to Pentalis. The ensuing battle takes the form of a series of individual encounters during which La Pucele transfers her affections to Meleander, who in turn falls in love with her. Protheselaus is released and finally meets Medea, while Meleander marries La Pucele. Pentalis is captured and transfers his allegiance from Daunus to Protheselaus. They collect an army to regain Calabria and in the battle Protheselaus jousts with his brother and defeats him, without recognising him. Peace is made, Protheselaus gets Calabria and marries Medea. Shortly after Daunus dies and Protheselaus inherits Apulia as well.



Hue's romances are distinguished, above all, by the personality of the author himself, and the confident humour with which he treats his material. His humorous, all-pervasive presence verges at times on the Chaucerian, and his didacticism, which is as strong as his humour, is delivered in a confidently direct fashion. His style and reading show him to be well versed in courtly fashions and his attitude reveals a man unawed by the court and secure in his position.

### Waldef

The romance of Waldef survives in one, as yet unpublished, thirteenth century manuscript which breaks off unfinished at over 22,000 lines.<sup>43</sup> There is an abbreviated Latin version of the fifteenth century,<sup>44</sup> apparently translated from a lost Middle English version with some additions from the Anglo-Norman. This Latin version is of little relevance to the present discussion, and it is fortunate that, thanks to the kindness of the poem's editor,<sup>45</sup> we are able to refer to the Anglo-Norman version itself.

A brief synopsis cannot do justice to this, the longest of the Anglo-Norman romances. For many reasons it is most unfortunate that it is this, of all the Anglo-Norman romances, that is barely accessible and as yet unpublished. Much work needs to be done on the poem's sources in order to distinguish genuine local legend from large-scale invention, and to assess the relevance, if any, of the traditions of Waltheof and Guthlac. The author's debt to the Brut, the Tristan and Horn is clear from internal evidence<sup>46</sup> as well as from the hint in his prologue.<sup>47</sup> As a conscious imitator of Wace, he is of great value to our understanding

of the aims and methods of Anglo-Norman romance, and Waldef itself contains much that is suggestive of later developments - especially of Beves<sup>48</sup> and Gui de Warewic. If further investigation were to uphold the author's claim - now generally accepted - to have translated an Old English original, then Waldef, with its extraordinary mingling of crude local legend with courtly romance, would provide a link of major importance between pre- and post-Conquest literature.

### Waldef

After an account of the early history of Norfolk, including the founding of Atleburc (Attleborough, Norfolk) by King Atle, the poem relates the life of King Bede of Atleburc and his marriage to Erebruc, sister of the king of Normandy. Their son, Waldef, is born shortly before Bede's death, and is deprived of his patrimony by the seneschal, Frode. Waldef is reared in Normandy and eventually returns to England and regains his lands. He decides to marry Ernild, daughter of King Erkenwald of Nichole, and wins her by defeating rival suitors, the kings of Oxford and London. A series of local wars amongst the several kingdoms of south-eastern England follows, and the two sons of Waldef, Gudlac and Guiac, are born. Waldef then incurs the enmity of King Utier of London, and in the war that follows he defeats the Londoners and kills Utier. Meanwhile, however, a Saracen raiding party has carried off Ernild and the two children, and Waldef sets off across Europe in search of them. After adventures in Spain and Poitou, he rescues Ernild who is about to be married to the Saracen king of Dublin, and returns to England, where he engages in more local wars. Fergus, who succeeded Utier on the throne of London, seizes Waldef and imprisons him but he escapes and leads an army to beseige London. The narrative then shifts to the two lost sons, Guiac in Cologne, and Gudlac in Morocco. Gudlac travels to Scandinavia, where he leads a Danish fleet in an invasion of England, and in the channel meets another fleet, from Cologne, led by Guiac. Gudlac joins the service of Fergus of London and falls in love with his daughter. In the battle between Fergus and Waldef he fights his father without either realising the relationship. Guiac then



arrives at the head of his army, joins forces with Gudlac and Fergus and engages in single combat with Waldef. An angel reveals their identity to Ernchild, and the family is reunited briefly. Gudlac marries the daughter of the king of London. Gudlac and Guiac depart again for Europe to conquer a kingdom for Guiac. After considerable adventures, interspersed with tales of love, Guiac defeats the Emperor and is crowned in his stead. The coronation feast is interrupted by a mysterious palmer, who warns Guiac of the dangers of complacency and spiritual pride, and soon after messengers arrive from England telling of the death of Waldef at the hand of Hunewald, a monstrous African giant enlisted by the Londoners. The two sons react differently to the news: Guiac repents his former life and departs on pilgrimage in the garb of a palmer, but Gudlac returns to England to reclaim his lands and avenge his father. At this point the Anglo-Norman version breaks off.

While Waldef has learnt courtliness from Wace and fin'amors from Thomas, it remains in many ways the most barbaric of the Anglo-Norman romances. Courtly conduct is only skin deep in this account of never-ending and pointless local wars, fought with the maximum brutality for minimum stakes.<sup>49</sup> One of the most curious features of the romance is the contrast between the scope of the narrative and the narrowness of its local base; the action may range from Ireland to Morocco, but the deepest loyalty is reserved for a corner of Norfolk, the bitterest indignation not for Saracens or pirates, but for the citizens of London. The amorality of the romance's attitude to war and love is startling by comparison with other Anglo-Norman romances, and when the prevailing attitude is finally challenged by the palmer it is in terms more serious and uncompromising than in any other of the romances we are considering.<sup>50</sup> To what extent this is due to the differences between the clerical author and his intractable material, as Legge suggests,<sup>51</sup> cannot yet be assessed.

Fergus

Fergus<sup>52</sup> is an octosyllabic romance of just under 7,000 lines, extant in two continental manuscripts, both of which are later than the original which is dated 1209.<sup>53</sup> It is the only Arthurian romance with which we are concerned, and the summary shows how much the author, "Guillaume le clerc", owed to Chretien and his successors. His main source is Chretien's Conte de Graal from whence he derives many of his Perceval-like hero's early adventures. Traces of Cligès, Yvain and Erec<sup>54</sup> have also been found and the theme of the courting of the Lady of Lothian is to be found in romance from Le Bel Inconnu to Malory's Book of Gareth.<sup>55</sup> The author does not refer to his sources, except in the vaguest terms as 'en escrit', but he does give his opinion of literary style.<sup>56</sup> His own style shows his familiarity with Arthurian romance, and is lively and varied, if lacking in the individuality of Hue de Rotelande, and with few of that author's rhetorical elaborations. Yet there is humour and colour, and the romance is gayer and lighter than Protheselaus and perhaps even than Ipomedon. The author's treatment of his material and the unflinching interest of his central theme - the education of his bucolic hero - makes it an attractive romance. The connexion made between this Fergus and the historic Fergus of Galloway, ancestor of the poet's patron,<sup>57</sup> and the factual details of Glaswegian topography, transform this Arthurian romance somewhat unconvincingly into an ancestral romance.



The romance opens with Arthur's court hunting a famous white stag through a clearly defined Scottish countryside. As they pass an isolated castle they are seen by Fergus who determines to follow them. After a domestic brawl, he is given his father's old armour, and sets off for Carduel. After some adventures he reaches the court where his lack of manners and strange dress make him a figure of fun, especially to Kay. He is given hospitality by the chamberlain, who teaches him a few essentials about chivalry and courtesy and clothes him in splendid robes which gain him a better hearing at court. Gawain and Perceval dub him and he sets off in quest of the Black Knight. He comes to a castle where he meets Galiene, who is immediately stricken with love for him. He dismisses her brusquely and sets off on the quest again. Having defeated the Black Knight, he returns to the castle to find that Galiene has disappeared. Almost demented with remorse and love, he sets off again, this time in search of her. Every knight he defeats he sends to Arthur's court, which is becoming increasingly anxious about him. After a year's hardship, he is healed by a magic fountain and given news of Galiene by the dwarf who guards it. He now has to acquire the magic shield of Dunostre, which he succeeds in doing after killing a giantess and a dragon. Eventually he comes to Lothian, where he learns that the country is ruled by Galiene and that she is besieged in Roxborough castle by an unwelcome suitor. She is searching for a champion, but none of her vassals is willing to help, and the Round Table is empty of knights as they are all out searching for Fergus. At the eleventh hour, as she is about to kill herself, Fergus appears from the forest, kills the opposing champion and then disappears again. Finally Arthur and his court arrange a tournament to bring Fergus out of hiding, and Galiene arrives to request the hand of the knight with the shield. Fergus appears in disguise, defeats all comers, and is eventually reconciled by Gawain. The romance ends with the wedding of Fergus and Galiene and his coronation as King of Lothian.

### Gui de Warewic

One of the latest of the Anglo-Norman romances, dating from 1232-42, Gui de Warewic<sup>58</sup> represents the final stages of the octosyllabic romance in England. It is one of the longest of these romances, consisting of nearly 13,000 lines, and is by far the most popular, the Anglo-Norman version alone surviving in thirteen copies.<sup>59</sup>



The author creates a fashionable ancestral romance out of shreds of family history and local legend, combining the names and exploits of Wigod of Wallingford and Brian Fitzcount,<sup>60</sup> with a legendary combat against the pagan champion, Colbrond, and sets the action in the factual background of Wallingford, Oxford and, to a lesser extent, Warwick. This part of the plot is heavily overlaid by exotic romance adventures, which in turn give way to directly religious material providing pilgrimages, crusades and a moniage ending. It is, in fact, a veritable encyclopaedia of medieval narrative,<sup>61</sup> although when read in episodes, as intended, it is fast moving and undemanding entertainment,<sup>62</sup> and its immense popularity bears this out.

Gui, son of Sigurd, steward of the Earl of Warwick, falls in love with Felice, the Earl's daughter, but she refuses to return his love until he has proved his prowess. He travels to the continent in search of adventure and, wandering from Germany to Constantinople, makes a few friends, many enemies, fights Saracens and eventually returns to England, killing a dragon in Ireland. Felice agrees to marry him, but after a few days of married life Gui is seized with remorse for the worldliness of his past life and leaves her for a life in God's service, which leads him into much the same adventures as before, but this time as the champion of Christendom. Meanwhile, his son, Reinbroun, is born to Felice and, when a boy, is stolen by foreign merchants. Heralt, Gui's former master, sets off in search of him. After adventures in the east and in Germany, Gui returns to England dressed as a poor palmer, to find King Athelstan threatened by a pagan invasion. Gui accepts the challenge to fight their champion, Colbrond, whom he kills. Keeping his identity secret from everyone except the king, he retires into retreat in a hermitage, where he eventually dies, surrounded by miraculous signs of sanctity. Felice, learning the truth, dies soon after. Meanwhile, Heralt finds Reinbroun and after a variety of adventures, he returns to his heritage in England.

Fouke Fitzwarin

Fouke Fitzwarin<sup>63</sup> is the latest of the Anglo-Norman romances, dating in its original form from 1256-64.<sup>64</sup> This form was evidently that of an octosyllabic romance, probably of some 4,500-5,000 lines long, but the extant fourteenth century version is turned, somewhat diffidently, into prose. Two extracts from the Prophecies of Merlin, of 18 and 46 lines respectively, are left in verse.

It is the most accurate of the ancestral romances, dealing with the adventures, real and imaginary of Fouke Fitzwarin, a notable baronial outlaw of the reign of King John.<sup>65</sup> However, it will be apparent from the summary that the romance is a mixture of three different elements - a chronicle-type romance, an exotic romance with more than a hint of the imram about it, and a burlesque tale of outlawry, which may have contributed something to the tales of Robin Hood, that other outlawed enemy of King John, sometimes also represented as a disinherited nobleman.<sup>66</sup> To the first element belong many of the most interesting passages in the romance, which give a vivid and convincing account of the wars and intrigues of the Welsh Marches, the locality on which the interest of the romance centres. The exotic element, which is clearly of secondary importance, interrupts the main thread of the plot with a series of unlikely adventures which, while being unashamedly derivative, are told with vigour. Fouke Fitzwarin combines total reality with total fiction and does both remarkably well. It is the more regrettable that two versions have been lost - the original Anglo-Norman octosyllabic version, and the Middle English



translation, presumably in alliterative verse,<sup>67</sup> and that only a secondhand inferior version survives, written in the final stages of the degeneration of the Anglo-Norman dialect and literary style.

After an account of the Conqueror's wars on the Welsh Marches, which includes a description of the fight between Payn Peverel and Geomagog, the romance tells of the tournament of the Peak at which Warin of Metz wins the hand of one of the daughters of William Peverel and the honour of Blancheville (Whittington, Shropshire). His son, Fouke I, is reared by another Marcher lord, Joce de Dinan, distinguishes himself in a skirmish, and is rewarded with the hand of Hawise, Joce's daughter. The local war against Walter de Lacy is lost by treachery and Joce is dispossessed of his lands. Henry II takes Fouke's sons into his household, and Fouke II comes to blows with the future King John over a game of chess. Eventually Fouke and his four brothers are knighted by Richard I and go overseas, where they gain fame and honour. Fouke returns on his father's death to find himself disinherited by John. He renounces his homage and turns outlaw, living in the forests, robbing merchants, and escaping the king's men by means of various disguises. The Archbishop of Canterbury arranges his marriage to the widowed Matilda Walter, much to the fury of the king. Various skirmishes in Scotland and Wales follow, until Fouke and his band of followers take refuge in France, where under an assumed name he shines in the jousts until John demands that the King of France expel him. Then follows a sea voyage full of marvels - he rescues the daughter of the King of Orkney from the Island of the Brigand Shepherds, kills a dragon in Sweden and another in Carthage, where he is offered the hand of the king's daughter but returns to England. There he captures John, who promises to reinstate him but breaks his word. After a fight with the king's soldiers, in which one of his brothers is left for dead, he takes to the sea again, arriving in Tunis, where the princess heals his wounds. There he becomes involved in a local war on condition that the participants become baptised, and discovers that one of his brothers is the champion of the opposing side. They return to England and finally, with the support of Ranulf of Chester and Hugh Marshal, Fouke is reconciled with the king and reinstated. He goes to the Irish wars, with Hugh Marshal, and kills a giant. He then returns to Blancheville and Matilda. On her death he marries again, founds New Abbey and is miraculously struck with blindness. He dies in old age, in honour and piety. The prophecy of Merlin is interpreted to fit the events of his quarrel with John and to connect Whittington with the Grail legend.



From this brief account of the subject matter of the Anglo-Norman romances, we are already in a position to begin to assess the kind of romance we are dealing with, an assessment necessary before we embark on an analysis of some of the major themes and concerns to be found in the romances.

We can start with the evidence provided by the author of Waldef in his prologue, which gives a valuable account of the influences and purposes behind an Anglo-Norman romance.

Ceste estoire est mult amee  
 E des Englés mult recordere,  
 Des princes, des ducs e des reis.  
 Mult iert amee des Engleis,  
 Des petites genz e des granz,  
 Desqu'a la prise des Normanz.  
 Quant li Norman la terre pristrent,  
 Les granz es(toir)es puis remistrent,  
 Qui en eng(le)is estoient fetes,  
 Qui des anciens ierent treites.  
 Pur la gent qui dunc diverserunt  
 E les languages si changerunt,  
 Puis i ad asez translatees  
 Qui mult sunt de plusurs amees;  
 Com est le Brut, com est Tristram  
 Qui tant suffri poine e hahan,  
 Co(m) est Aelof, li bons rois,  
 Qui tant en fist des granz desrois.  
 Ces en sunt e altres asez  
 Que vus asez oir purrez.  
 Ces gestes qu'erent en engleis  
 Translatees sunt en franceis.  
 Les anciens ça en ariere  
 Mult par orent bone manere:  
 Les aventures que lur avindrent  
 Entr'euls tutes bien les retindrent  
 E en memorie les metoient,  
 Que cil qui enaprés venoient  
 Suventes foiz les recorderent;  
 Plusurs suvent en amenderent.  
 Ceste estoire vus vuel mustrer  
 Del riche roi Waldef, le fier: 33-64  
 .....  
 L'estoire englesche regardai;  
 En franceis la translatai.  
 Ne me vuel ore pas numer  
 Ne le non m'amie mustrer. 85-88

This contains several points of interest. Firstly, the author claims to be translating from an Old English source, a tale well known before the Conquest. Whether or not his claim is true - and for various reasons it appears so<sup>68</sup> - its very existence is of importance in establishing the purpose of this type of romance. It is clearly part of that wave of fashionable antiquarianism based on an idealised pre-Conquest past that, as we have already noted, was typical of the Anglo-Norman period. He further suggests that the Brut, Tristan, and Aaluf, as well as other "gestes" unfortunately not named, are also translations from Old English originals, and whatever the truth of this claim, his knowledge of two at least of these works in their Anglo-Norman form is evident. The most important influence on the poem is the Brut of Wace, and the poet has been described as belonging to the "ecole de Wace".<sup>69</sup> Not only does he rely on Wace to supply the framework of early English history within which he sets his poem,<sup>70</sup> but his use of the octosyllabic couplet reveals his debt to the earlier chronicler, as does his imitation of some of Wace's set pieces - perhaps the most curious of these is the one in which he applies Wace's panegyric of Arthurian Caerleon to, naturally enough, Thetford. The influence of Tristan on both the content and style of Waldef is also clear,<sup>71</sup> but that of Aaluf is more difficult to assess. If he refers to some version of the tale of Horn's father we do not know enough about the lost work to trace its influence.<sup>72</sup> However, it has been suggested that he is in fact referring to the Romance of Horn<sup>73</sup> and this introduces another difficulty that will become increasingly apparent, namely that so close is the inter-relation between the Anglo-Norman romances that it is almost



impossible to be precise about the influence of any one upon another.

He also tells us that his translation was undertaken for his "amie", and in this response to lay and, presumably, aristocratic patronage, he is also representative of most, if not of all, the Anglo-Norman romance writers. The significance of the patronage of Anglo-Norman romance is discussed later, but one effect that can be noted here is that the material is chosen with an eye to local interests, and that this local feeling can, as is the case with Waldef, be so strong as to provide a major unifying theme. The connexion between Waldef himself and the poet's patron is not made explicit, but the work is included by Legge in the class of "ancestral" romances, with Boeve, Gui, Fergus and Fouke Fitzwarin.<sup>74</sup> Although, for reasons which will become clear, it seems that this classification can be misleading, it is evident that the purpose of Waldef is to relate the history of a locality and its hero, imitating fashionable models, and taking care to hold the interest of a particular audience as well as to serve the interests of its patrons.

In these respects Waldef is typical of Anglo-Norman romance as a whole. In view of the tendencies of Anglo-Norman literature, it is not surprising that the greater part of these romances are drawn from historical, quasi-historical or legendary sources. This almost uniform preference for historical material is as significant in its literary consequences as it is for what it tells us of authors and audiences. The historical basis of Anglo-Norman romances has been recognised in general terms,<sup>75</sup>



but the wider implications have not. For as a result of the choice of material, and the kind of attitude voiced by the Waldef author, Anglo-Norman romance does not fit easily into any of the accepted classifications of romance - as "roman courtois", "roman d'aventure", or "courtly" or "chivalric" romance.<sup>76</sup> We will, therefore, adopt the term "historical romance" as one better suited to the type of writing we are considering.

X                    X                    X

Por remembrer des ancessours  
 Li fez è li diz è li mours,  
 Deit l'en li livres è li gestes  
 E li estoires lire as festes.  
 Li félonies des félons,  
 E li barnages des Barons.  
 Por ço firent bien assaveir,  
 E grant pris durent cil aveir,  
 Ki escristrent primierement,  
 E li auctor planierement,  
 Ki firent livres è escriz  
 Des nobles fez è des bons diz,  
 Ke li Baron è li Seignor  
 Firent de tems ancianor.  
 Tornez fussent en obliance,  
 Se ne fust tant de remembrance,  
 Ke li escripture nos fait,  
 Ki li estoires nos retrait.

1-18

The much-quoted preface to Wace's Roman de Rou<sup>77</sup> shows again how similar are the basic concerns of the chronicle and the historical romance. In both the past provides authority as well as ideals in an age which instinctively appealed to ancient sources and authoritative statement. The remoteness of the past varies, and is often lost in an identification of the past and the present, which is sometimes dismissed as mere anachronism, but which has a deeper significance. It arises from a conviction

that in the sub eterna world, all that happens is part of a whole, that men in the past felt and acted as contemporaries, and therefore - and here the point of the romances - their stories can be accepted as an "essaumple", an encouragement or warning for their descendants. There can therefore be little sense of distance or strangeness in a medieval didactic romance, for the audience cannot be allowed to take too objective a view of the action. Hence the historical romance is not an idealisation of life, and here it is necessary to distinguish it from the other main romance type, which can perhaps be best referred to as the "exotic"<sup>78</sup> romance, and which includes most of the Arthurian romances that draw on Celtic rather than on chronicle tradition, and the romances of antiquity and the east. The historical romances do contain ideals but they are those of reality and, as is particularly clear in the Anglo-Norman romances, this idealisation gave rise to didacticism and moralising, not to escapism. The ideals of the exotic romance, on the other hand, whether material or spiritual, are unattainable and escapist.<sup>79</sup>

In the exotic romance the action exists out of time and place - or at the most, during the reign of Arthur and in the forest of Brocielande - the consequences of the action are not fully realised, and the whole, action, setting, morality, is so idealised that the only didacticism possible, apart from a gospel of refined living, is that conveyed by allegory. The historical romance is that in which the action exists in an historic-present, a time structure that seems to have appealed to the medieval mind with its feeling of continuity with and admiration for the past. The action usually takes place in a



familiar, or at least acceptably substantial geographical setting, with unidealised characters - this does not mean unconventional - whose actions are rarely redeemed from the strictures of cause and effect by the magical or the miraculous,<sup>80</sup> and who are thus forced to face the consequences of their action. The didacticism here is direct, allegory being almost unknown and, while it includes the promotion of courtly behaviour, it is less than enthusiastic about fin'amors. This type of romance no more exists in a political, social or religious limbo than it does in a timeless, placeless one, and it is always ready to emphasise parallels between the action in the romance and contemporary events. It may well be that this type is in general a lesser artistic form, requiring less imaginative power, and producing nothing to equal the best examples of the exotic romance; but it occurs as a strong element in English narrative, in both vernaculars, throughout the medieval period.

We have thus arrived at a working distinction between two different narrative types, a distinction based on material, purpose and treatment, and one which can be used instead of the terms "epic" and "romance", which are both confusing and inadequate, especially when applied to the romances of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>81</sup> The historical romance is the immediate successor to the epic; but it is not epic.

As the influence of the chansons on these romances will often be apparent, it is as well to repeat the fundamental differences between the two genres. The chansons de geste, whatever the date at which they finally took shape, are set



in the world of the Carolingian Empire of Charlemagne and his ineffectual heirs.<sup>82</sup> Its background is the confrontation of Christendom, identified with France, with the pagan world, a Christendom reliant upon barely civilised feudal barons, still innocent of the social virtues of courtoisie, who could only be held in check by a strong hand, in the absence of which they degenerated into anarchic, highly individual, factions. The paramount virtue of this world is loyalty - to the family and the comitatus in the first instance, in more fortunate times to the country and to God; and behind all stands the shadowy ideal of the Empire. But the twelfth century saw profound changes in this - the ideal of the Empire uniting Christian Europe against heathendom changed into that of separate nationalistic kingdoms; Arthur the king defeats Lucius the emperor.<sup>83</sup> Courtesy infiltrates the masculine society of the warriors, and in narrative literature the setting changes from Carolingian France to Britain, Logres or the Mediterranean. The audience remains the same aristocratic "seignurs" addressed by the poets of the chansons, but the poets are no longer traditionally anonymous. They give their names and impose their own interpretations on the narrative. It is necessary to bear these differences in mind, for the chanson style in many cases outlasted the chanson ethic, reappearing in romances which presuppose a very different world from that of the Old French epic.

If the stylistic influence of the chansons is conspicuous, it will soon become clear that that of the courtly romance is pervasive. Seven of our romances - and that is without the hybrid Fouke Fitzwarin - are written in the octosyllabic couplet

typical of the new style, and even in the others the vocabulary, phrasing and rhymes bear witness to its influence. It is not, of course, just a matter of a new style; the romances introduced whole new areas of subject matter, and then the vocabulary with which to describe them. By the time many of our romances were written the style was no longer new, but formalised and conventional; but even then the vocabulary of the courtly romance still has the monopoly of the only diction capable - in French - of treating such material. It is, however, important to remember that "la vocabulaire poétique n'avait pas la même valeur à toutes les époques";<sup>84</sup> as it became conventionalised, the vocabulary of courtoisie and fin'amors, so precise and full of meaning in the lyrics of Provence, or in the Tristan, became almost meaningless unless, when heaped together in set passages, it communicated its meaning by sheer quantity. It is possible that this situation was accentuated in England, and that as Anglo-Norman, cut off from its French roots, degenerated as a literary language, its vocabulary became increasingly imprecise, and that this, as much as personal preference, may be the reason that the authors avoided the more subtle and complex developments of French romance, and chose instead the simpler, more old-fashioned type which depended for its meaning on action rather than on argument. If so, it is a problem they would share with the authors of the earliest Middle English romance, which until the fourteenth century was itself suffering from a language and tradition unsuitable for meeting the full demands of the romance form.



These Anglo-Norman romances are therefore the heirs of two highly productive narrative traditions, each with its own distinctive content and conventional style. There is some evidence that the suitability of each style to different material was recognised, but except in a few cases this soon dissolved into confusion. Thus the most obvious legacy from the chansons, the long line laisse, is kept for basically epic material - if the term is used loosely - including the romances of Horn, Boeve, the Roman de Toute Chevalerie, and, significantly, the Chronique of Jordan Fantosme.<sup>85</sup> However, the octosyllabic couplet is also used for this type of material, and the echo of the chanson laisse can still be heard in the octosyllabic rhymes of almost every Anglo-Norman romance.<sup>86</sup> Part of this confusion arises from the mixed nature of the material and attitude found in these romances, and it can perhaps be said that this mixed style is one which evolved, albeit fitfully, to suit the special nature of the historical romance.

Even with this highly conventional style, whether from epic or romance, some of our authors did manage to create something approaching a personal style, and the personality of the author is important as a direct influence on both content and form, in a way unknown to the chansons. About half of these romances have named authors, a proportion much higher than in Middle English. Much of our information about literary style, fashion, and sources comes from discussions inserted into the romances by the authors; their interjections give moral weight to otherwise trivial incidents, and their local gossip fixes the geographical setting of the action. In many cases we have a glimpse of the



relationship between author and audience, and between author and patron, a more intimate and varied one than that suggested by the stock minstrel phrases of most Middle English romance.<sup>87</sup> The author addresses his audience, silences them, interprets the romance, and continually intervenes between the audience and the action. In fact we have preserved into written form something which must have been common in an oral culture, and which is worth bearing in mind when dealing with romances of this length - the personality of the author or reciter giving drama and emphasis to his narrative, shaping it, like an actor, with an eye to the audience's response.

Having gained a general idea of the principles and aims of the historical romance, we can now examine some of the main themes and characteristics of the romances themselves.

2(b) Courtoisie and "amour courtois"

Any discussion of courtly literature is bedevilled by certain terms which seem to be prone to as many interpretations among modern critics as among medieval authors. Without repeating the whole debate on the question of "courtly love", certain points need to be clarified here. Courtly literature is "a literature of courts ..... dealing with courtliness and embodying its ethical and social ideals."<sup>1</sup> As such it is distinguished by descriptions of an aristocratic life, of luxury, leisure, wealth and a certain elegance in personal and social behaviour, and the court itself is important as the setting for this life. When the qualities necessary for a member of this society are formalised, they form the constituents of courtoisie, of courtliness or, by the fourteenth century, curialitas.<sup>2</sup> This is an important element in medieval literature from the chansons de geste onwards.

As far as western medieval literature is concerned, "courtly love" originates in the fin'amors of the troubadours. It presupposes a courtly setting and a quality "cortezia" in its participants. But this quality is one of many, not a collective term, and is a moral rather than a social idea;<sup>3</sup> it could not develop into "curialitas". The literature of fin'amors is distinguished by the presence of a set of formalised emotions, situations and characters, expressed in a particular style and diction.<sup>4</sup> It finds its purest expression in the lyric, but it adapted to narrative form in the twelfth century romance. Fin'amors is foreign to the chansons; it is one symptom of the social, emotional and religious individualism



of the twelfth century,<sup>5</sup> and where it does occur in literature it must, by definition, dominate the action.

Recent scholars have stressed the danger of confusing courtoisie with amour courtois - "on pouvait être un chevalier courtois sans être un amant courtois".<sup>6</sup> There are many stages of compromise and amalgamation between the extremes of fusion of the two terms and their complete separation, but we will here consider them separately as far as possible, taking first the relatively concise question of the treatment of amour courtois in Anglo-Norman romance, and then the wider question of the courtly element in this aristocratic literature.

Even when the survey is narrowed to the specific subject of amour courtois<sup>7</sup> there are problems of definition. The ideas, ideals and ethics of the troubadours' fin'amors found expression in a specialised vocabulary and a system of character and situation designed to show those ideas in action.<sup>8</sup> The relationship between expression and concept is close, although interpretations may vary between poets. When the style was taken up by the poets of northern France, and lyric became narrative, the terms and situations were transferred, but their meaning was subject to re-interpretation. Even within the works of Chrétien, there is the difference between the dramatisation of concepts taken from the troubadours in the Launcelot, and the "amour courtois conjugal"<sup>9</sup> of Erec or Cligès. The new narrative demanded new material, not all of which was compatible with the Provençal precepts, and it was presented to audiences not necessarily sympathetic to them. Apart from the social and (perhaps) religious differences between Provence and the northern

kingdoms,<sup>10</sup> there was the significance of the change in form; concepts which have a vague delicacy in the lyric develop awkward consequences when translated into full length narrative. Fin'amors in its original manifestation was not only against marriage, it was "une conception nettement opposée à la morale chrétienne",<sup>11</sup> positing its own scale of alternative values. The history of the reversal of this by the romance writers of France is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is worth bearing in mind when we come to consider the distance between the troubadours and the Anglo-Norman writers. Furthermore, however great the distance between the Anglo-Norman writers and the troubadours may prove to be, it is not the result of ignorance of the forms and concepts of fin'amors on the part of the insular authors. The proof of this is to be found in the strong influence of the Tristan of Thomas on Anglo-Norman romance. Many of our authors were familiar with the romans d'antiquité, or the works of Chretien or Marie de France as well, but it is not necessary to look outside the bounds of Anglo-Norman romance to find a work which provides a direct link between fin'amors and the literature of England. In the Tristan are to be found the ideas that love is truest outside marriage<sup>12</sup> and that the dominant responsibilities of the lovers are to themselves and to each other. Thomas organises his material so that the characters exist only within the pattern of events dictated by the central love situation, their motives and actions, whether occasioned by love or hate, revolve around it, and the purpose of the romance is to examine its psychological and emotional consequences. This is quite consistent with the



development of the courtly romance in northern France., in which love, whether fin'amors or amour courtois conjugal is given priority over other aims and interests.

From this general discussion of amour courtois it is evident that the same terms, whether used by authors or critics, do not necessarily have the same meaning, or the same strength of meaning; new material may introduce confusingly similar situations with different underlying concepts. The efforts of critics to impose a generally valid system on medieval love literature are therefore doomed to confusion, if not to failure. We will try to avoid this approach when dealing with the Anglo-Norman romances and will take as our guidelines, not ideas and vocabulary, but the balance of plot and the motivation of character. For if the literature of love from the fin'amors of the troubadours to the amour courtois conjugal of Chretien, has one common factor it is that the emotional relationship is central to the work. So we are concerned to describe not only how love is presented in Anglo-Norman romance, but the importance attached to it in each romance.

We have already stated that the choice of material is a vital factor in determining the type of romance, and this is especially so in the treatment of amour courtois.

In the Haveloc legend the central relationship between Haveloc and Argentille is essentially uncourtly, based as it is on a forced marriage on the command of the feudal overlord - the kind of situation which led to the idealisation of adultery in European romance. Gaimar, of course, wrote his version before the era of the romances, but the author of the Lai, writing at the end of the century and acquainted with the work of Marie de France, might be expected to be less satisfied with his intractable material. As it happens, there is no sign of the ideas of amour courtois, even in those passages which owe most to Marie,<sup>13</sup> although, as we shall see, his version is more courtly than that of Gaimar. The Lai does increase the stature of Argentille, but this is in accordance with the dominant role she plays in Gaimar's version, where there is another dominating female - Grim's daughter, Kelloc. In neither version is the importance of the women due to any courtly idealisation, but, in the manner of the chansons, to the idea that the hero's wife should be his adviser, helpmeet, and most loyal supporter.

With the Romance of Horn the situation becomes more complex; the author clearly knew the earlier French romances - possibly the Eneas and certainly Thomas's Tristan<sup>14</sup> - and the plot offers two opportunities for him to develop the love theme - the protracted courtship of Rigmel, and the Lenburc episode.

M. K. Pope has remarked on the "provocative influence" of the Tristan on Horn,<sup>15</sup> and this is apparent in the



characterisation of the hero; Horn, with his hunting and harping skills, is modelled so closely on Tristan as to invite direct comparison. He is in every way suited to be a courtly lover and yet, while his beauty excites love in every woman he meets, he is himself a model of circumspection and control. Never deflected from his purpose by love, he is immune to its pangs and never ceases to behave according to the demands of social propriety. The idea that love is a necessary component of a courtly hero's character is in no way accepted by Thomas, while the threat that love presents to prowess is recognised and overcome. It is significant that in responding to the Tristan, Thomas is concerned to rectify, not the faults of the heroine, but those of the hero; the "complexe d'Iseut"<sup>16</sup> is the more characteristic concern of Chretien and his followers.

However, the situation is very different when it comes to the female characters. In its origins and development, Rigmel's love follows the courtly pattern, although in its expression it is rather more forthright than usual. She loves through hearsay,<sup>17</sup> is stricken with Love's dart,<sup>18</sup> suffers pain and insomnia,<sup>19</sup> and confides in Herselot, her confidante, whose attitude is even more extreme.<sup>20</sup> The author makes no attempt to disguise his contempt for such behaviour, and makes it clear that such emotional disturbance is an affliction peculiar to women.<sup>21</sup> This attitude to women deprives Horn of all but the most superficial resemblance to the romances of courtly love. Nevertheless, as Horn increases in social dignity, so Rigmel does in emotional dignity until, when it comes to the first parting, the love has become acceptable to both author

and hero, as a relationship based on mutual fidelity, and so it remains for the rest of the poem.

The Lenburc episode is of particular interest as it places Horn, travelling in the disguise of the vavasour's son "Gudmod", in the position of a dependent 'bachelor'<sup>22</sup> in a frivolous, more feminine court,<sup>23</sup> a reflection of the conditions which have been used to explain the genesis of fin'amors.<sup>24</sup> Horn, however, is painfully aware of his inferior situation, refuses to accept, let alone exploit, Lenburc's offer of love, and takes care to avoid all compromising situations.<sup>25</sup> Lenburc's love contrasts unfavourably with Rigmel's: it is over-hasty and indiscriminate, and Horn's rebuff is couched in the terms of the fin'amors tradition:

Si est de fol amur quant ne vient par raisun 2447

Pope's conclusion that in Horn "the contrast with the fashionable cult of amour courtois could hardly be more complete"<sup>26</sup> is clearly valid. What is important, however, is that this contrast does not come from an ignorance of amour courtois, or from a mere repetition of chanson ethics, but from a deliberate and critical reappraisal of the implications of the "cult", especially as presented in the Tristan. This is apparent not only in the defence of chastity and conjugal fidelity,<sup>27</sup> but in the very presentation of the love that afflicts - there is no other word for it - the unfortunate women who happen to glimpse the beauty of the hero. It is perhaps not too fanciful to say that in his presentation of Lenburc, Herselot and the ladies of the court, Thomas means to demonstrate the disastrous effect of a work like the Tristan on female psychology.<sup>28</sup>



The relationship between Horn and Rigmel provides one of the two main themes of the poem, but it is not the romance's sole concern, and the love it presents eschews the ideas of amour courtois in favour of those of a different system of values.

In Boeve, the relationship between hero and heroine is less central than in Horn. Again the hero is immune to the finer sentiments until his own loyalty and integrity are involved. Josiane, like Rigmel, takes the initiative, but her love develops according to fashionable precepts and is sympathetically presented. It grows gradually as she watches Boeve's feats of arms, she suffers in the manner of all courtly heroines, and is initially rebuffed in terms that recall Horn's remarks to Lenburc:

Iceste fol amour pur dieu lessez ester 678

Boeve's love is won by Josiane's conversion to Christianity,<sup>29</sup> and the love between them develops into a mutual conjugal affection, strengthened by adversity. As in Cligès, the notion that the heroine could divorce her body from her affections is unacceptable, and Josiane, like Felice, resorts to magic to preserve her virginity during her marriage to Yvori. The couple are finally married in the middle of the romance, and the action of the last part is motivated by family affection as Boeve seeks his lost wife and children. Much of the hero's affection is, in fact, reserved for his horse - which also resists Yvori<sup>30</sup> - and all three die on the same day.

As Boeve is so derivative of the chansons and the Romance of Horn, it is not surprising that the ideas of amour courtois are so superficial, although they do affect the presentation of character and of emotion in the first part of the romance.

For the most part, however, the demands of love are in accordance with those of prowess and religion, and it is not surprising that while the name of "Sir Beves of Hamptoun" was famous throughout the medieval period, that of Josiane is never numbered among the lists of courtly heroines.

The romances of Hue de Roteland, like the Romance of Horn, suggest a conscious reaction to the Tristan. They are, however, much closer to the romans courtois of France, especially Ipomedon which has some claim to be one of the most interesting of the early French romances. The character of Ipomedon, like those of Horn and Boeve, is modelled on Tristan,<sup>31</sup> but, unlike them, he himself suffers the pangs of unrequited love, and the action of the romance is that of the development of his relationship with La Fiere. Thus in the first part of the romance Ipomedon loves by hearsay, travels to La Fiere's court where he lives incognito for three years until, rebuked for his apparent lack of prowess,<sup>32</sup> he departs on a career of knight errantry. Meanwhile, La Fiere, realising her own feelings too late, suffers in secret and with the help of Ismeine, her confidante, postpones wedding plans in the hope of Ipomedon's return. Ipomedon's adventures take him to the court of Sicily, where he becomes the queen's "dru". This episode, like that in the Irish court in Horn, evokes the type of situation which may have given rise to courtly literature. Ipomedon's feelings are not this time involved, although those of the unfortunate queen are, for Ipomedon, like Horn, is gifted with a beauty fatal to women.<sup>33</sup> This passion of the queen's is treated critically, as is that of Ismeine, who comes in for some caustic comment from the



author;<sup>34</sup> when such comment turns into typically clerical anti-feminism, it lends an uncourtly tone to the romance, similar to that noted in Horn. And this brings us to the problem of Hue's treatment of love; for although the events, as we have seen, are strictly in accord with fashionable romance, although the vocabulary, ideas and images of amour courtois are used with precision, the final effect is deeply ambiguous. For Hue cannot - or will not - take his subject seriously: La Fiere is too proud, Ipomedon too modest, the presentation of the queen and of Ismeine always straying over the bounds between exaggeration and ridicule. If this were all - and it does not quite merit the label of 'burlesque' attached to it by Legge<sup>35</sup> - we might suspect that this was a modern distortion of the romance. But the comments of the narrator, sometimes delicately sarcastic, often crude, confirm and increase the humour. The bare bones of the story of Ipomedon's love for La Fiere are those of a courtly romance, but it is not until the Middle English version of the late fourteenth century that it becomes one.<sup>36</sup>

If, as has been suggested, both the author of Horn and Hue de Roteland are concerned to condemn the extremes of fin'amors depicted in Tristan, there can be little doubt that Hue's method is the more telling, for laughter could explode "the inner kingdom of courtly love"<sup>37</sup> more effectively than all the blasts of the moralists. But this is not the extent of Hue's reaction, for he also propounds the idea of amour courtois conjugal, bringing his lovers through all tribulations to a chaste and faithful marriage.

If Hue renders fin'amors harmless by humour in: Ipomedon, he does so, no doubt unintentionally, by tedium in Protheselaus. Love is no longer the prime motive of the hero's adventures, and indeed is little more than an inheritance from his father, for whose sake Medea loves him. Both Protheselaus and Medea suffer, as did their predecessors, from love depicted correctly, and they undergo separation and danger before they are finally married. Even more than in the earlier romance, Medea is the superior, in both power and status - to say nothing, as the author says nothing, of age. But perhaps the most interesting account of love in the romance is of that between La Pucele and Meleander. She first appears as a somewhat wild independent ruler, who falls in love with Protheselaus and imprisons him when he refuses to marry her, and in the war that follows she leads her own armies into battle with considerable energy. But when she falls in love with Meleander the civilising properties of love become apparent, and she turns into a modest, retiring romantic heroine, to whom Hue gives the clearest expression of his amour courtois conjugal:

Mon quor et mon cors vus durai  
 Et fin voler et fine amur,  
 Fors que ben i seit et onur,  
 Ten onur cum de mariage,  
 Kar jo n'ai cure de folage.

10867-71

This is a direct response to the Tristan and other expressions of the incompatibility of love and marriage.<sup>38</sup>

In the romances of Hue de Roteland therefore we find a deliberate and selective treatment of the ideas of amour courtois, adapted and modified to make them totally acceptable, but in both romances, especially in Ipomedon, retaining the central



interest in the emotional history of the characters.

The huge scope of the romance of Waldef offers several opportunities for the development of a love theme, not as central to the action, but as welcome relief to the chronicle of war and intrigue. The first is the illicit affair between Dereman and Odenhild, of which the issue is the illegitimate Florenz.<sup>39</sup> It is presented in the courtly manner -

de fin quor dunc amout 431

and not least in its outcome, the death of Dereman. The same is true later in the romance of the story of Lioine and the Emperor's daughter, a version of the Hero and Leander legend.<sup>40</sup> The author's treatment of both these affairs is refreshingly free from moralising, so it is unlikely to be morally significant that both end in death, although he could have reached this conclusion from his knowledge of the Tristan. Of the less disastrous relationships, that between Bede and Erebruc, Waldef's parents, follows the by now familiar pattern of a courtly wooing leading to an ideal marriage, and much the same is true of that between Gudlac and Ykenhild of London, although in this case his love follows the political betrothal. It is perhaps significant that of all the relationships in the poem, it is that between Waldef and Ernild which is the least courtly. Waldef chooses her on the advice of his barons, and his battle with her other suitors seems to be inserted for its future consequences rather than to show his devotion. She, however, chooses him because

Tant estes beals e alingne  
Curtois e large e alose'

Once married, their relationship develops into the mutual affection that, as in Boeve, provides the motive for many adventures culminating in the reunion of the divided family. The love element in Waldef is thus of secondary importance, and when it occurs it is treated amorally and with effective pathos to give variety in the long romance. As far as the main characters are concerned, the attitude towards love is similar to that in Boeve, or possibly more directly to that in the Romance of Horn which seems to have influenced both the later works.

We have seen that the basic material used by the Anglo-Norman authors tends to prevent the development of amour courtois in their romances, but in the case of Fergus the reverse is true, for here we have a fully fledged Arthurian romance, written in the early thirteenth century by an author who was familiar with a number of major romances, including those of Chretien.<sup>41</sup> Not only the setting of his romance, but its subject, the courtly education of the hero, is conducive to the development of the love theme, for here, as in Chretien's Perceval, it is accepted that a courtly knight should also be a courtly lover. Thus the relationship with Galiene plays a major part in the development of Fergus. She it is, however, who first falls victim to Love's dart,<sup>42</sup> and Fergus does not at first respond, not because, like Horn, he is too sensible, but because as yet he lacks the necessary courtly qualities. By the time he does acknowledge his feelings Galiene has disappeared and his search for her, through perils mortal and supernatural, is the central action of the romance. After the



conventional sufferings the lovers are at last married, but with a warning from Gawain on the dangers of uxoriousness:

Et se li amoneste et prie  
 Que il ne laist chevalerie  
 Por sa femme, que n'est pas drois.  
 'De pluissors gaves en serois.'  
 Fergus bien li afie et jure. 6961-5

The author's final description of married bliss is a direct echo of Chretien's amour courtois conjugal:

Sil l'aimme con s'amie fine  
 Et ele lui com ami fin. 6974-5

Fergus is a delicate and graceful celebration of marriage, indicative of the likely occasion for which it was written.<sup>43</sup>

It is humorous, although lacking the wit of Ipomedon, courtly and, in all senses of the word, romantic. Courtliness and love form the indivisible core of the romance's action and meaning, and the love offers no challenge to accepted social and moral standards.

The anonymous cleric responsible for Gui de Warewic created in Gui and Felice one of the most famous, and the most typical, pairs of lovers in late medieval romance. By the time Gui was written in the mid-thirteenth century the niceties of a properly conducted love affair were systematised and unremarkable, and Gui and Felice experience and exemplify them all. Love is accepted as the spur to chivalric adventure, and for much of the first part of the romance it is the adventure which receives most attention. The crux of the romance, which is doubtless the cause of its immense appeal, is Gui's abrupt conversion shortly after his marriage, after which religion replaces love as the driving force behind another series of adventures. The attraction of Gui as crusader errant may be

stronger than that of Gui as courtly lover, but Felice remains an important figure, and is present at the end to bury Gui and die of grief herself.

Gui is in all respects a totally representative romance, representative that is, of a stage in the development of amour courtois in which its ideas and expressions had become entirely commonplace. So it is that the external adventures of the hero across the face of the known world occupy the major part of the romance, rather than the exploration of an inner world of emotion.

The author of Fouke Fitzwarin makes little use of the sparse opportunities offered by his chronicle material to treat of love. The relationship between the hero and his wife falls short of even the most mild demands of conjugal love; he marries for convenience,<sup>44</sup> and is widowed and remarried in a single sentence.<sup>45</sup> Even the princess of Barbary, who falls in love with Fouke during his travels, receives the most cursory notice. We might have ascribed this to an ignorance of fashionable romance if it had been one of the earlier romances, but such an explanation is unlikely for the mid-thirteenth century, and other elements - the Peak Tournament, the herbal disguise and the slaying of the dragon - reveal an extensive knowledge of romance. Moreover there is possibly a note of critical cynicism to be detected in the account of the disastrous love of Marioun de la Bruere for her lord's enemy, Ernald de Lys. The affair begins in the most courtly manner:

Sir Ernald....dit qe ele fust la chose qu'il plus ama e  
qe tant est surpris de s'amour qe repos ne puet avoir jour  
ne nuyt, si ele ne se asente a ly, quar ele ly puet secours  
fere de tous ces anuys....



The result is treachery and murder,<sup>46</sup> so the attention paid here to the forms of amour courtois is somewhat double-edged. On the whole, however, it seems that this author was not interested in love; he had, as we shall see, other concerns.

It is obvious from a mere glance at the plots of the Anglo-Norman romances that the idea of love outside marriage was not acceptable. Of the nine romances under consideration, all without exception present love as leading to marriage, and what is more, many of the couples get married in the middle of the action. Most are said to have children, in four cases - Boeve, Waldef, Gui and Fouke Fitzwarin - becoming parents during the romance, not just in the envoi. Even when it is admitted that amour courtois, as presented in the romances of France, is not necessarily incompatible with marriage, the consistency of the Anglo-Norman attitude must be significant.

On the whole, however, love plays an important part in these romances, and it is treated, descriptively if not always conceptually, according to the traditions of amour courtois. As befits an aristocratic literature, the idea of love contributes to the mystique of nobility - the two lovers must be of noble birth and of great beauty, as appearance is both a sign of rank and of moral worth. The lady may be of higher rank than her lover, but this idea does not seem to have been popular in Anglo-Norman. Differences in rank in Horn, Boeve and Haveloc is the result of temporary misfortune and is felt keenly by the respective heroes.<sup>47</sup> We do find the idea in the

romances of Hue, most notably in Ipomedon's position at La Fiere's court, and as the "dru la reine" (3071), and in the relationship between Protheselaus and the older and more powerful Medea. But the only hero to marry above his station is Fouke Fitzwarin, and here the romance is (for once) reflecting historical fact and the difference in rank is certainly not stressed. This stems from the attitude to marriage, for whereas the socially inferior lovers of the lyrics or the Launcelot do not aspire to marriage, those of the Anglo-Norman romances do, and feudal society had firm ideas on the subject of disparagement.

Apart from noble birth the qualities deserving of love are essentially social, and therefore it is quite in order for a hero or heroine to fall in love without having seen the subject of their affections - the report of society is sufficient. Thus Ipomedon falls in love with La Fiere, Medea with Protheselaus, and Rigmel with Horn -

li beaus e li gentilz, li corteis, l'alosé 785

The list of qualities is precise, for his beauty and nobility contribute to his courtesy, and all to his high reputation.<sup>48</sup>

Whether it grows gradually or strikes suddenly, love brings the inevitable painful symptoms,<sup>49</sup> and the theme of the power of love, expressed in conventional, and usually military, imagery is a popular one.<sup>50</sup> In most cases the path of true love is strewn with difficulties which delay marriage but whatever the delay, it remains:

amur d'honesté en bon atendement



The chastity of the relationships between Horn and Rigmel, Boeve and Josiane and Ipomedon and La Fiere is stated explicitly, and in all other cases it is assumed.

The essential virtue of fin'amors and of love in these romances is loyalty and indeed here it often seems to be the idea of loyalty rather than that of love which is dominant. The fidelity between Tristan and Isolde may be the more dramatic, but that of Horn for Rigmel is more typical of Anglo-Norman romance, and may have set the pattern. While there is little sign of any great love on Horn's part, he remains faithful throughout the seven-year period, even when temptation, in the form of Lenburc and the throne of Ireland, offers itself. His fidelity is a matter of honour rather than of emotion - having pledged his faith he will keep it, unless Rigmel breaks hers, in which case he will return to Ireland and marry Lenburc without, it seems, much regret. In his path follows Boeve, who having lost Josiane is offered the hand of the heiress of Seville, but who insists on waiting seven years for his wife to reappear. Likewise Ipomedon refuses to be deflected by Ismeine, and Protheselaus by La Pucele. Fouke and Gui are offered the conventional hand-and-kingdom of various eastern heiresses, but remain faithful to their first loves. For the most part this is not due to any deeply felt emotion on the part of the hero but is, in keeping with the attitude to love and marriage, the fidelity of the married couple rather than the eternal devotion of star-crossed lovers.

It is clear that these authors were well aware of the dictates of literary fashion, yet many were unwilling to take

them too seriously. There is a note of humour, cynicism, or simple criticism to be found in many of the romances, and the more extreme claims of love, and the wilder protestations of the lovers, tend to be curbed.<sup>51</sup> As a result, love does not present a challenge to social, moral or religious codes; the implications of the Tristan had been well noted and were thoroughly answered.

The impact of amour courtois on narrative literature affected both character and plot, for if the hero was a courtly, and by definition, single-minded lover, all action must point towards one end, the fulfilment of the love. Such demands were sometimes incompatible with both older literature and current taste, and it is probably true to say that after the initial interest in the exotic paraphernalia of romance had lessened, it was the ethical problems caused by these challenging and never completely acceptable ideals of conduct that kept the romance alive as a genre. The division of loyalties between love, social duty and religion, was a rich source of major literary development until the time of Malory. The vigour with which the early Anglo-Norman romances reacted to the Tristan, and the consistency with which they modified amour courtois into a socially acceptable code, may be one reason for the decline of Anglo-Norman romance, after the Horn and the romances of Hue de Roteland, into a static and complacent literary form.

There is, of course, more to this than a reaction against amour courtois. It is symptomatic of a fundamental contrast between the aims of these romances and those of the romans courtois

of France. The hero of a historical romance gains his importance not from his adventures as a lover, but from the foundation of a family, a line or a dynasty. The purpose of such romance is not to analyse emotional states or to present characters undergoing the range of experience that a courtly relationship involves. Although two romances, Ipomedon and Fergus, are to some extent exceptions to this generalisation, it will be seen that even they show the modifications of the historical romance.

Thus we have seen that that which is central to the roman courtois has become, in Anglo-Norman romance, secondary if not peripheral, with the result that it undergoes a fundamental change of identity. For if amour courtois loses its pre-eminence, it loses its essential character. This point must be appreciated if Anglo-Norman romance is to be seen, not as a diluted version of the French courtly romance, but as something more positive, that shows a deliberate and discriminating sifting of romance material to distinguish between what is suited to the purpose in hand and what is not. It remains to establish what, if not love, is central to the historical romance.



2(c): The Court and Courtoisie

Courtoisie, like amour courtois, is a sign of a softening of life, an expansion of interest beyond the basic concern for survival towards a new emphasis on social life, and an idealisation of qualities other than the purely military. Leisure, luxury and manners are the key factors, together with the growing importance of woman in society. While these are also the ingredients of the amour courtois formula, they exist in their own right in much medieval literature, irrespective of any concern with emotional relationships. If therefore we take courtoisie to mean courtliness, "the quality of courts", we shall see how often, in a romance in which amour courtois plays little or no part, courtoisie itself is important.

The system of courtly values applies to both society and the individual, but the qualities that the ideal demands both from court and courtier depend on the type of court envisaged. The range of individual qualities is as various as are the courts depicted, from that of Charlemagne in the chansons to that of Arthur in the later romances.

Much of this variety stems from the several functions of the medieval court, in fact as well as fiction. The feudal court, a meeting of vassals summoned by the king or overlord, was the measure and symbol of his power and judicial authority:

Could a chief have a more striking manifestation of his prestige or a more delightful way of reminding himself of it than to appear in public surrounded by a multitude of dependants, some of whom were themselves men of high rank, and to get them to perform publicly those gestures of deference - by acting as squire, cup-bearer or steward - to which an age susceptible to visible things attached great symbolic value? 1

To attend was a vassal's duty; non-attendance or an ill-timed departure could be accounted a treasonable offence.<sup>2</sup> These seasonal gatherings combined the functions of law court, diplomatic assembly, deliberative council and, increasingly, social occasion. Throughout our period courtly society consisted largely of barons and their ladies, confined for most of the year to remote castles scattered around the country, for whom the last function had a particular meaning. The court provided an occasion for reunion and gossip, for a display of new fashions in dress, manners or music, and was an unparalleled marriage market. So the qualities of the courtiers, especially the bachelers, the young, unmarried, and often landless knights of the court, became more social. Youth and beauty were the ideal personal attributes, music and poetry were added to the earlier accomplishments of hunting and fighting. We know from the strictures of the moralists that the changing character of the royal court was evident from as early as the reign of William Rufus,<sup>3</sup> but it reached its peak during the reign of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine. And, as is apparent from the romances, the minor courts of the barons imitated, at least in theory, the new fashions of the royal court. Of course, neither moralist nor romance writer provides trustworthy evidence, for one exaggerates frivolity, the other splendour, each for his own ends. The court of Henry II was as serious, hard-working and efficient as any in Europe. But the Angevin and Anglo-Norman kings were well aware of the prestige value of splendid occasions, and their custom of the thrice-yearly crown-wearing, celebrated by William the Conqueror,<sup>4</sup> provided, at the hands

of Geoffrey and Wace, a model for those of Arthur. For courtly literature is inextricably bound up with courtly life, sometimes imitating life, sometimes providing life with models to imitate, and fulfilling, in its dissemination of fashion, at least one of the functions of the court itself.

In the romances we are dealing with idealization, not with accurate reportage, and the nature of the ideal itself is of interest to us, for if the romance holds up a flattering mirror to society, the resulting image will be revealing of that society's tastes and interests. It will therefore contribute to our understanding of Anglo-Norman romance if we enquire what kind of court is presented in this aristocratic literature, its function and quality, and the nature of the personal attributes it demands from those within its society - in short, what part courtoisie, both social and personal, plays in these romances.

As Tristan provided the Anglo-Norman romances with an example of the literature of fin'amors, so Wace's Brut provided, in the description of Arthur's court, a richly detailed account of the ideal court of the mid-twelfth century.<sup>5</sup> It is, typically, a description which contains both realism and fantasy, and combines material splendour with moral worth. Arthur's motive in summoning the court is

pur ses richeises demustrer

10199

and those of his vassals for attending are equally practical:



Tant pur Artur, tant pur ses duns,  
 Tant pur cunustre ses baruns,  
 Tant pur veeir ses mananties,  
 Tant pur oïr ses curteisies,  
 Tant pur amur, tant pur banie,  
 Tant pur enur, tant pur baillie. 10331-6

His court attracts kings and nobles from most of Europe as well as his own vassals and innumerable churchmen; the marshals are kept busy arranging lodgings and stabling.<sup>6</sup> The centre of the festivities is a rich coronation ceremony followed by three days of feasting. The account of wealth, extravagance and luxury passes without a pause to one of moral qualities:

De buens homes e de richesce  
 E de plenté e de noblesce  
 E de curteisie e d'enur  
 Portout Engleterre la flur  
 Sur tuz les regnes d'envirun. 10493-7

The feasting is followed by games, music making, and the inordinate gambling of which Wace strongly disapproves. It ends with a display of vast generosity on the part of the king, who hands out lands and honours to his own vassals, and material gifts to those from abroad. In all, it is understandable that the scope of Wace's description, enhanced by the rhetorical virtuosity of the passage, should have made such an impression on his successors.

Descriptions of wealth and fashion, often strongly derivative of Wace, are thus to be found in all our romances. The Romance of Horn provides one of the fullest accounts of courtly life in any medieval romance, and Miss Pope's analysis of the poem's vocabulary alone is enough to show that Thomas is easily Wace's equal on the subject.<sup>7</sup> Again we have the rich feasting, the interest in fashions in clothes and architecture, and the entertainments of the court - harping, gaming and

stone-putting. Hue de Roteland is more superficial in his analysis of courtly society, but his descriptions can be even more elaborate, as in that of La Pucele's chamber:

.....la cambre pavee  
 El secle n'ot melz aturnee  
 De dras de seie, de curtines,  
 D'or brusdees, beles et fines,  
 De blanche see et de tapiz.  
 A fin or peint ert li voltiz,  
 Descrit i fu la mappamonde,  
 Li cels, l'air, et terre reunde,  
 Les esteiles et les planetes,  
 Le zodiac od tutes letes  
 Et tut le firmament rëunt,  
 Soleil et lune et tut le mund.  
 En la vote rot riche peres  
 Mult precioses et mult cheres.  
 Les peres gettent tel clarté,  
 Unc ne fu si grant oscurté  
 Ne si tenegre nuit n'en ere,  
 Que la cambre n'en fust si clere  
 Cum entur midi en esté  
 Quant soleil rent sa grant clarté.

Protheselaus, 10380-99

Such elaboration is unusual even for Hue. More common is a formulaic description in general terms containing enough courtly phrases to give the desired effect - as in Medea's court in the same poem:

Mult riche curt tint la rëine:  
 Meinte dame, meinte meschine  
 Et meint noble vassal de pris  
 Ad le jor al manger asis

Protheselaus: 3262-5

Others drew directly on Wace:

Chevaliers....As eschés juent e as tables;  
 Content nuveles, content fables

Waldef: 3506-8

8

and in Gui

Asez i out des menestrers,  
 Del realme les plus chiers,  
 Bons arpeurs e vielurs,  
 Roture, gigurs e tympanurs,  
 De totes maneres i out jogleurs,

7541-5 9

The centre of courtly life is the feast with which the romances abound. The service can be truly impressive - according to Wace all the servitors at Arthur's court are dressed in ermine,<sup>10</sup> and the poet of Horn devotes much attention to wine and cups:

Al manger sunt asiz: servent cil seneschal  
 D'esquieles d'argent, nun en autre metal.  
 Buteilliers ont hanaps e de or e d'orkal,  
 Ki mut sunt bien ovrez de pierres e d'asmal,  
 Il portent les pimenz, les vins clers cum cristal.  
 Li services est granz; bien semble enperial; 4103-8

Courtly entertainments include music, and singing is an accomplishment of courtly ladies: the princess of Barbary in Fouke Fitzwarin - "prist sa harpe, qe molt riche fust e fist des caunz e notes",<sup>11</sup> Rigmel's maidens cheer her with

Rotruenges e vers de chaunçons, haut e cler, 1248

and Lenburc, like Isolde, shows a knowledge of lais, although it does not equal Horn's, for he, like Tristan, is a masterly musician.<sup>12</sup> Clothes are invariably rich, although the stress is on rare and rich material rather than on style, except in Horn and the romances of Hue in which there is some comment on the new style introduced by Henry II "Curtmantle". Such comment is of course anachronistic in Horn,<sup>13</sup> but Hue avoids the anachronism:

Luncs ert li mantels de tut sens;  
 Tels les amœent en cel tens,  
 N'urent cure de curs mantels,  
 De curs dras ne de curtes pels;  
 Mais or est li secle muez,  
 Or sunt les curz mantels amez. Protheselaus: 11,400-5

Luxurious clothes and food, feasts and courtly amusements, rich surroundings and noble society are the essential background of all these romances, and to enumerate further examples would be unnecessarily tedious. All romance deals in such



material, and there is no reason to suppose the nobility of the Angevin realms to be any less discriminating than that of France. Nevertheless, some differences are apparent. There is an element of unbridled extravagance common in continental romance, but rare in Anglo-Norman, and similarly a strain of nostalgia. The Didot-Perceval describes a feast at Arthur's court thus:

Molt fu grans li feste que li rois tint le jor de le Pentecoste; car oïl de le Table Reonde li vestirent dras roiaus, et si li misent le corone el chief, et fu li rois si honeres com il devoit estre, car en plus de set cens encensiers de fin or l'encensoit on par tot la u il aloit, et li jetoient le glaiol et le mente devant lui, et li faisoient tant d'ounor com il plus porent. 14

After a description of equally superlative magnificence the author of Galeran de Bretagne may well say -

Telle feste court, ce me semble,  
Mais or est morte en nostre aage,<sup>15</sup>  
Pas ne regnent li seigneurage. 3396-8

Such sentiments are not to be found in Anglo-Norman romance, and the possible reasons for this will be discussed later.<sup>16</sup>

Obviously the courtly content of a romance can be an indication of its original audience. An aristocratic literature, written by poets familiar with courts for courtly audiences, differs from more popular literature written by and for those unacquainted with court life at first hand, although the subject matter may be similar. Paradoxically, it seems that one important difference is that the glamour, the wish-fulfilment and the idealization of court life, common in popular romance, may give way in aristocratic literature to criticism and un glossed realism. It is not the criticism of the outsider, of the priest or peasant, but that of the insider who knows that all that glitters

is not gold. The courtly ideal, inasmuch as it is idealistic, contains the inherent seeds of disillusion, self-criticism and didacticism.

There is a streak of realistic comment that seems typical of the Anglo-Norman authors, cutting through the most over-loaded descriptions. The courteous action of Meleager's courtiers

Li chevaler cuntre eus saillarent  
E places a seer lur firent Ipomedon 2979-80

suggests a standard of orderliness above that in Horn's court, where he calls for silence "od sa main" (4573), while at Hanlaf's court the lack of disorder is attributed to Herland who

Bien les ad herbergie, sanz coruz, sanz meslée 443

We have a further glimpse of the less decorous side of court life in the behaviour of the London courtiers in Boeve,<sup>17</sup> and in Protheselaus<sup>18</sup> when the hero covers himself with glory by breaking up a dog fight which interrupts a courtly feast.

Wace takes care to defend his Arthur's court against suspicions of immorality:

li chevalier mielz en valeient  
E en estur mielz en faiseient  
E les dames meillur esteient  
E plus chastement en viveient 10517-20

But a much less idealized attitude is to be found towards the ladies of the court in Horn,<sup>19</sup> and Hue is critical of the moral standards of the court of Sicily. It is part of the romance formula to create an atmosphere of gossip and intrigue against which the love of the two central characters stands out the more clearly; the one is of the court but the other is courteous.

It is possible that the Latin literature of the Angevin court, especially that of John of Salisbury and Walter Map<sup>20</sup> may have influenced criticisms such as these. John of Salisbury

wrote his Poliaraticus - subtitled - de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum - a few years after Wace's Brut and the first part reflects many of the same concerns in its treatment of such courtly amusements as gaming, music and feasting.<sup>20</sup> Walter Map in his De Nugis Curialium takes the subject to fantastical lengths, comparing the Angevin court to Hell and to the mythical court of King Herla.<sup>21</sup> Such criticism had, in fact, become something of a cliché among the clerical writers at the court of Henry II, but for the most part the authors of our romances, no doubt with an eye to their audience, are not anxious to write moral condemnations of courtly life, but rather to portray courts where such condemnations are unnecessary.

The changing values of courtly society are reflected most clearly in the Romance of Horn, in the contrast between two courts, that of Hunlaf in Brittany and that of Gudreche in Ireland. The Irish court is younger and gayer than Hunlaf's, showing the influence of a queen and four royal sons and daughters. Whereas the motherless Rigmel could not appear in her father's hall, Lenburc, her mother and sister do, and the tone of the court is more feminine. The Irish princes are a nucleus around which gathers a company of young courtiers, enlisted as mercenaries in case of war, but spending the long years of peace in sports, hawking, singing and gaming, the arts of peace being refined to a high degree. It is in this court that Horn finds himself embarrassed by Lenburc's protestations of love. Unlike Rigmel, Lenburc is encouraged in her love by the tone of the court, for it is in a court such as this that



fin'amors could take root, not in the sterner, more masculine and war-beleaguered court of Brittany. In Ireland Horn cannot shelter from the lady's advances behind the screen of loyalty to the king, or play on her fear of shame, but he has to challenge the whole mode of life at the court, insisting that he came to Ireland to fight, not to be a ladies' man.<sup>22</sup>

The verdict of the romance is in favour of Hunlaf's court, for when it comes to a Saracen invasion, Ireland is only saved by Horn himself and the two princes are killed. But if the romance thus seems rather old-fashioned, the ability to describe two such different courts suggests an unusual amount of interest in the subject. Neither court is entirely idealised; Hunlaf's is isolated, prone to gossip and weakened by the ageing of its ruler, Godreche's is attractive and leisured, but morally unstable and hopelessly unprepared for war.

The purpose behind this presentation of contrasting courts is clear, the source for the poet's two sketches is less so, but it is probably safer to consider it a literary one than to assume that he is drawing directly on contemporary examples. In this respect a useful point of comparison is provided by a passage in Horn, written it would seem, in conscious imitation of one in Thomas's Tristan. The alternative concepts of the court available to writers of the time are apparent in the descriptions of two processions, that of Modin on his way to his wedding with Rigmel, watched by Horn, and that of Mark's court watched by Tristan and Kaherdin:

Vient garzun, vient varlet,  
 Vient seuz, vient brachet  
 E li curliu e li veltrier  
 E li cuistruns e li bernier  
 E marechals e herberjurs  
 Cil sumiers de cils chaceurs  
 Cil chevaux, palefreis en destre,  
 Cils oisels qu'en porte a senestre.....  
 Atant eis lur les lavenderes  
 E les foraines chamberreres....  
 A ce eis lur li chamberlang:  
 Apres lui espessist li rangs  
 De chevaliers, de dameisels,  
 D'ensegnéz, de pruz e de bels;  
 Chantent bels suns e pastureles.  
 Apres vient les dameiseles,  
 Filles a princes e a baruns,  
 Neés de plusurs reguins;  
 Chantent suns e chanz delitus.  
 Od eles vunt li amerus,  
 Li ensegnéz e li vaillant;  
 De druerie vunt parlant.

S.25-32; 39-40; 49-60

Compare Horn 3986-99:

La gent le rei Modin sunt de la nef eissuz  
 E vont vers la cité tuz les chemins herbuz;  
 Cuntre ciel flambeient lur espiez, lur escuz.  
 .....  
 Kar coe sunt esquiërs genz enveisez e druz;  
 E apres si viennent li jofne, prim barbuz,  
 De novel adobez, chevaliers bien vestuz;  
 E ceus lait si passer, ne lur est mot rendez.  
 A derein vindrent gent bele, d'entrechanuz;  
 Od icis vint Modin - ces out il atenduz -  
 Kar coe iert sis conseilz, en ices s'est creüz.

The description of Isolde's procession is that of a purely decorative court. The main division is between the servants and the courtiers; first comes a shapeless crowd of huntsmen, dogs, cooks and laundrywomen, then in orderly "rangs" the courtly procession of beautiful, well-born ladies and their knights, who talk of love as they pass. This scene may well have been in the other Thomas's mind as he described Modin's procession. Here the court is functional and entirely masculine. There is no division of class, only of rank, and that is based

on nothing more glamorous than age and experience. As the description progresses from the lusty squires to the grizzled councillors, it becomes clear that the values of this court are those of wisdom rather than of beauty. We are not told of any conversation as they pass, except that Modin and Wikele are discussing Rigmel, in a rather uncourtly fashion to judge from Horn's reaction. Typically, the author of the Tristan gives no external description, instead he achieves an impression of variety from the listing of courtly occupations. In Horn there is some suggestion of appearance - "prim barbez", "bien vestuz" - but the most striking descriptive line is straight from the chanson theme of sunlight on armour:

cuntre ciel flambeient lur espiez, lur escuz 3988

For whereas Mark's is the peaceful court of Arthurian romance, this is a military court, hierarchical rather than exclusive, stately rather than bustling, purposeful rather than decorative. The difference is not due to idealisation; Isolde's court has already been shown to be little better than a prison, and Modin, while not a villain in this version, is still Horn's rival. Nor is it that the author of Horn is simply old-fashioned; the Irish court refutes that possibility. Rather it would seem to be due to a taste for reality, or at any rate for the possible, on the part of the later author; Mark's court, like Arthur's, is two-dimensional, with no apparent means of support. Modin's rings true.

But few of our romances are as detailed as those of the two Thomases as to the appearance and function of the court.



For the most part they are content with a few phrases of rich description and a brief sketch of the court's function. The feudal aspects of that function will be considered later, but our concern here is with the court as a centre of courtoisie, both social and individual.

Just as the king is the fount of honour, so is the court the fount of courtoisie, that sum total of qualities that equip the individual to live in its rarefied atmosphere. Wealth and ostentation may be an important part of the court itself, but the personal qualities of the courtly hero are less tangible:<sup>23</sup>

"Certes, sire, fet ele, yl n'y a chevaler en tot le mound qe je prendroy pur richesse e pur honour de terres; mes, si je ja mes nul averoy, yl serra bel, corteys e bien apris e le plus vaylant de son corps de tote la cristieneté."

Fouke Fitzwarin: 8-9

The standards of courtoisie are those of breeding and behaviour and, like the opposite concept of the vilein, have moral as well as social implications.<sup>24</sup> It is in the court that these standards are recognised, and it supplies that public admiration which is so necessary to the courtly hero - thus La Fiere's court responds to a gesture of generosity:

E trestuz cil de la meyson  
Ki entendent senz & reison  
Dient de lui grant bien forment  
Kar il sert afeiteiement

Ipomedon 509-12

Courtoisie includes not only moral qualities, but a variety of accomplishments. The young Horn is, of all the children  
melz senez / Plus hardi de parler e li mielz doctrinez 32-3  
and Ipomedon's abilities are reminiscent of those of Tristan -

Mult savoit d'oysaus & de chienz 194

his hunting skills are shared by Horn and Protheselaus and Gui,<sup>25</sup>

and like Horn and Tristan, he is musical -

Un chaunt, k'il out fet, vet chantant 2721

Such heroes as these are consistent models of courtoisie, but Fergus is "li valles qui ne fu pas sages",<sup>26</sup> and the theme of the romance is that courtoisie can be learned - by the nobly born - and can improve a character almost beyond recognition. It is, of course, a romance which gives a totally idealistic picture of the court - the court of Arthur, the centre from which the knights depart on quests:

Ce fu en mai el mois d'este  
 Que bois foillist et pres verdie.  
 Cascuns vrais amans por s'amie  
 Cante novials sons et cancons  
 Li rois Artus o ses barons  
 Tenoit sa cort large et pleniere....  
 Car sa mainnie ert revenue,  
 Qui avoient en queste este  
 Un iver et tant de l'este. 6128-38

In the account of the hero's transformation the subject of social manners is central,<sup>27</sup> the early part of the romance making full use of the new potential of social embarrassment. Fergus's education begins at the chamberlain's house, where the courtesy of speech and manners serves to emphasise his bumptious ignorance -

Chius entent bien que il ert sos  
 Et de doctrine laide et fole 1127-8

The chamberlain who

ot cuer gentil /Et si fu sages et cortois  
 Et doctrines de totes lois 1057-9

does his best to get Fergus properly equipped and dubbed. The next place of education is the castle of Galiene's uncle where he does his best with the little training he has:

Si com nature li mostroit  
 Qu'autre doctrine n'en avoit  
 Fors itant con li ensigna  
 Li cambrelens qu'il herberga.  
 Mais o lui fu petit de tens.                      .1606-9

His table manners pass muster this time, but he fails to treat Galiene with courtesy when she confesses her love to him. The later stages of Fergus's education take place outside the enclosed world of the court, but he eventually returns as an accepted member of the Arthurian court. The extent of his growth in courtoisie is apparent in his speech to Gawain at the final tournament:

Se vos eusse conneu, / De tant long que je vos veisse,  
 De mon ceval jus descendisse                      6781-3

It is significant that this treatise on courtoisie should give such prominence to Gawain himself,<sup>28</sup> and it also provides examples of its opposite, as in the brigand leader -

Qui fu cortois / de felenesse cortoisie                      3301-2

and Artofilas, a representative of Galiene's unwelcome suitor, is thoroughly uncourtly in his contempt of women:

Feme estes, si dites folie                      5222

Apart from the more superficial manners and accomplishments that are a matter of upbringing and education, the basic qualities demanded by courtoisie are fraunchise and pruesce.

Generosity has different motives in the epic and the romance. In the epic it is to obtain and reward loyal followers, and a great lord is distinguished by his liberality.<sup>29</sup> In the romance it is to display a personal quality, often not so much to build up a relationship with the recipient as to impress a third party - usually the lady. In Horn we are still in the world of epic generosity - Rigmel showers gifts on Herland,



which although bribes, occasion no surprise or censure as they are part of the relationship between royalty and its followers. Generosity buys loyalty;<sup>30</sup> hence the excuse given by Wikele for his treachery, when Horn refuses to give him the horse he asks for:

Autre part, si joe pus, querrai avoërie,  
De qui aië beaus dons e al bosoing aïe.  
N'est pas sage, m'est vis, ki trop en vus se fie. 1861-2

But Hue de Roteland showed shortly afterwards that he appreciated the other function of generosity - to prove a hero francs and worthy to be loved. Ipomedon attracts the attention of La Fiere's court,<sup>31</sup> and the lady herself, by his generosity to the butler, and she praises the value of fraunchise -

De tutes les teches, ki sunt  
N'ad nule meudre, en tut le munt 1751-2

Perhaps the most interesting use of the concept of fraunchise is in the Lai d'Haveloc, in which a courtly poet is faced with the problem of presenting a bad court, that of the usurper Alsi at Lincoln. The court remains the ideal; Grim - who in this version only is an exiled baron, not a fisherman - sends Haveloc to Lincoln to

Aprendre sens et aveir quere 176

and there is no suggestion that Grim's life as a fisherman is of any value to the hero or interest to the audience. Haveloc belongs to a courtly society, yet the only court available is that of his enemy. The author uses two methods to expose the falsity of the Lincoln court. The first is to show Alsi imposing an unpopular decision upon his barons by a display of force,<sup>32</sup> and the second is to show the court deficient in the basic quality of courtoisie. For although Alsi

Bone curt tint, mult ot grant gent 241

his court is not worthy of the name; his courtiers laugh at Haveloc's liberality:

Pur la franchise k'en lui ot  
Le teneient entr'els a sot 257-8

Their ignorance of courtly ethics condemns them.<sup>33</sup> This detail, with its reliance on instinctive knowledge of the vocabulary of courtoisie, is absent from both Gaimar's earlier version, and that in Middle English.

The other basic quality required of the courtly hero is prowess, and it is here that the demands of courtoisie can conflict with those of amour courtois. Chretien's tale of Erec, with its moral that if the claims of love are met without moderation, prowess suffers, provided a lesson that was taken to heart, and Anglo-Norman romance is full of warnings to this effect. La Fiere, stung by Ipomedon's apparent lack of interest in knightly deeds, attacks him through Jason:

Quidez vus, garçon, pur beaute  
Pussez par amour estre ame,  
Pur franchise ne pur largesce?  
Tut le covient autre pruesce. 877-81

Ipomedon keeps up the same pretence at the court of Sicily, where the queen tries to reconcile his lack of the one virtue with his other qualities:

Quant ele recorde sa grant franchise  
E sun sens e sun bel servise,  
Suef met quire e tut ublie  
E pruesce e chevalerie. 4513-6

Gawain's warning to Fergus on his marriage<sup>34</sup> echoes the reproof of Galiene's uncle when Fergus is grief-stricken at her disappearance:

N'apartient par a chevalier,  
Por pucele ne por moillier  
Doie ja faire itel sanblant  
Que on nel tiengne por enfant,  
Vos le devez laissier ester. 2751-4

Felice refuses to love Gui because if she did so he would lose interest in prowess,<sup>35</sup> and Horn refuses to pledge his love to Rigmel -

Ainz ke armes porte      devant tur de chastel  
E k'eüsse en turnei      feru u en cembel:  
N'est pas us a la gent      a ki lignage apel.      1152-4

A further quality, attendant on pruesce, is modesty, and here again the romance is very different from the epic, in which heroes boast of their deeds. Boeve, like an epic hero, wants to do great deeds to relate "devant mon baroné",<sup>36</sup> but Ipomedon makes an almost absurd point of being modest, to the extent of being held a coward, because:

De moy descoverir ceo n'est pruz  
Vauntise l'entendra a touz      1189-90

and when he is silent after his valiant deeds at the tournament, the narrator remarks "ço fu duble chevalerie."<sup>37</sup> There is something of the same quality about Horn's behaviour at the Irish court.<sup>38</sup>

Thus the interest in the formalised qualities of courtoisie is widespread in these romances, and forms an important part of their didactic purpose. The relationship between the personal qualities required by courtoisie, and those dictated by the precepts of amour courtois, is close, but not indistinguishable, and it is evident that in these romances the social attributes of the courtier and knight are emphasised rather than the individual attributes of the lover.

The court serves a variety of functions in these romances. In Gaimar's treatment of the Haveloc tale, written before the advent of courtly romance, little is made of the court itself, although ideas on rank are exploited to the full in the account of Argentille's forced match to an apparent scullion. By the



time the tale was recast as the Lai, courtly ideas had become familiar enough to be used to show a court that falls short of the ideal. The concept of the court as a gay and decorative centre of civilised life is apparent in the Tristan, but it exists solely as a setting for the emotional history of the main characters, providing the gossip or tournaments that from time to time play a part in that history. In the Romance of Horn the action takes place against a rich background of jewels and feasts, courtly pastimes and fashionable clothes, but the author is interested in more than externals, and provides a searching and often critical analysis of court life. It is in the romances of Hue de Roteland that the court comes into its own as centre of the action, with laudatory descriptions of court life and full acceptance of its standards. This is set off in the romances of Hue by a note of cynical realism, but no such element is to be found in Fergus, in which the court of Arthur is presented as the absolute ideal, and courtly behaviour is inseparable from moral stature. In Waldef the court, whether of Lincoln, London or the Emperor, is important as a centre of power and authority, and courtoisie is conveyed by impressionistic phrases drawn from Wace. In Boeve and Gui formalised description of the court provides the background for the adventures of the courtly hero, but the treatment is mostly superficial. The historicity and setting of Fouke Fitzwarin offers little opportunity for courtly description, and for the most part the courts of the Plantagenets are sadly prosaic, although at one point Henry II makes an appearance that recalls the romances of chivalry:

le roy après soper alaunt set dedure en un pree.  
 Si vist Fouke venant armé al chyval e mout poinousement  
 chyvalchaunt, quar yl ert feble e son destrer las.  
 "Atendoms, fet le roy, ja orroms noveles."

p.27

The Anglo-Norman romances are without exception courtly romances. The court is always present in the background, and courtoisie is a favourite topic. Following the example of Wace, the romances give enthusiastic descriptions of court life, but such descriptions, even at their most impressive, rarely become exaggerated to the point of impossibility. A further sign of the aristocratic nature of these romances is that even when the chief function of the court is to act as a fount of social and personal virtues, it is rarely idealised; it may supply the standards to which the hero aspires, but often it falls short of those standards itself.

It is not our concern here to analyse the details of similarity and difference between the court in literature and the actual courts of Henry II, his sons and barons. However, in his thorough study of the subject, which unfortunately ends in 1189, Bezzola concludes that there is as little resemblance between the court of Arthur and that of Henry II as between the courts of the chansons and that of the real Charlemagne. He describes the court of the French Arthurian romances as being essentially a court of peace, "hors de temps", the centre of a society in pursuit of adventure, and an entirely imaginary ideal.<sup>39</sup> It would seem that the Anglo-Norman romances present a different kind of court, one that is, in literary terms, closer to the court of the chansons than to that of Arthurian

romance, a court of war rather than of peace, very much not "hors de temps" as befits the historical romance, a functional centre of society, and representing ideals not altogether imaginary.



(d): The Supernatural

We can distinguish two types of supernatural material available to the authors of medieval romance. From the epic, especially the crusading epic of France with its awareness of Christendom, came the tradition of the servants of God - Arthur going into battle with an image of the Virgin painted on his shield,<sup>1</sup> or Roland rendering his gauge to God at Roncesvalles.<sup>2</sup> From the Celtic tales and legends of the east came the element of magic, which created a world system in which lovers turn into birds, and fairy mistresses appear in woods, in which magic potions transform the features, and magic rings protect chastity or life.

The two systems can affect the writing of narrative fundamentally. The first contains an element of inevitability, the second of continual amazement. If, as in the first system, all action takes place within the will of God, it is both dignified as being worthy of His notice and can be foretold by those who can hear His voice. From this stem the traditions of prophecy, of the 'epic' dream, of feelings of foreboding and dark warnings from the narrator. But although disaster can be foretold it cannot be altered, and thus, even in the Christian milieu of the Middle Ages, there remains something of the tragic, fate-ridden existence that is the proper sphere of the epic hero.<sup>3</sup>

i-wurpe þat i-wurpe i-wurpe Godes wille<sup>4</sup>

Even when the results are not disastrous, good fortune also can be fore-ordained.

The second system allows interruption of the action by extraneous and sometimes unruly agents; time and time again disaster is averted. The hero may still be brave, but now he can count on more than armour or faith to protect him, if he has the good fortune to wear a protective ring or to keep his opponent fighting until sunset. Courage is no longer always measured by the huge numbers of opponents confronted, but by their incredibility, on the assumption that it is as brave to face a dragon or a coal-black giant with blazing eyes, as a Saracen army. The romance here inhabits a world in which nothing is reliable, foul is fair and fair is foul and reality can melt into nothingness. In the face of this, the hero assumes a nonchalant attitude quite as admirable as that of the epic hero faced with overwhelming odds. The unfortunate part is that the author all too often assumes the same nonchalance, and hence the notorious inability of the average medieval romance to exploit its magic potential.

Fundamental as the differences between the two systems are, it must be admitted that this summary over-simplifies the picture, for medieval authors soon moved towards a compromise. Already the wonders of the east had invaded the chansons; Saracen armies contained giants, and ancient weapons were protected by spells. On the other hand, the will of God might be revealed by a holy hermit dwelling in the middle of magical Brocielande, and with the development of the Grail theme, the idea of a Christian magic almost entirely replaced the earlier Celtic magic. The conceptual pattern becomes increasingly confused, and in some cases this confusion replaces the numinous

element lacking in the romance. But the two systems can still be distinguished by their effect on the narrative. Where a character is saved from his enemies or the natural consequences of action are interrupted or deflected by the magical or miraculous, where concrete reality dissolves or human beings turn fiend or shape-changer, we have the second system. Where a character can only be saved by his own actions, where one sword can only be turned aside by another, and where the only alternative to the concrete world is the equally concrete realm of heaven, then the first system is at work. The magical universe, whether Christianised or not, is escapist and fanciful, often beautiful, and at its best has a core of thematic consistency. The religious universe is inspirational and functional, with little decorative detail, and often over-moralised.

The supernatural element in the tale of Haveloc is confined to the revelation of the hero's true identity. In Gaimar's chronicle version, most attention is given to the 'epic' dream, for which Geoffrey of Monmouth provided precedent, and which receives disproportionately long treatment by Gaimar.<sup>5</sup> We are meant to take the dream seriously, and Haveloc's refusal to do so is a sign of his lack of intelligence.<sup>6</sup> However, the more startling event of the appearance of the royal flame is remarked on with indignation rather than surprise by Argentille:

"Sire" fait ele "vus ardez" 249

Compare the same passage in the Lai where she does show some dismay:

"Sire" fet ele "vus ardez.  
Alas! tut estes allumez. 445-6

The Lai does expand the supernatural content slightly to bring the tale more in line with contemporary fashion. In this version



Haveloc dismisses the dream, not because he disbelieves it, but to reassure Argentille. The Lai also adds Argentille's visit to a forest hermit for an interpretation of the dream.<sup>7</sup> In the Danish episode, the flame and horn are treated with little surprise, and calmly accepted as proof of Haveloc's royal birth.<sup>8</sup> It is, in fact, difficult to class these as magic, and one is left with the impression that both authors treat the tale as a realistic, factual and unremarkable piece of history, interesting on many scores, but not as a vehicle for the marvellous nor as an example of miraculous intervention in human affairs.

The author of Horn takes a very different view of his story, and never misses an opportunity to stress the sustaining and ordaining presence of God behind the action. There is no room for magic in this account of Horn's struggle against heathendom and treachery, but there is a strong sense of his destiny at work throughout, contributing to his stature as hero. When the children are brought before the pagan Rodmund, God moves him to pity so that they are not immediately killed, and the reason for this divine intervention is made clear: in this world, as in that of the chansons, God and the hero work together in the protection of Christendom:

Il em pensera bien, e li ber saint Johan,  
 Kar uncore par cels murrat saint barbaran -  
 Pincenard e leutiz, turcople e almican.  
 Uncore er par cest Horn conquis regne persan  
 E par le fiz cestui, ki ore est en ahan,  
 Ki paens destrurat d'ici qu'al flum Jordan,  
 Ne.s i purrat tenses Mahum ne Tervagan.

Horn is not, however, a religious figure in the manner of Gui. He prays once - for an end to peace - fights three battles against the Saracens, and restores the Christian faith in Suddene, and his devotion is confined throughout to the conflict between Christendom and the pagan. It is the narrator who is pious, not the hero, and it is his interpretation of events that gives them their supernatural colouring. He makes his position clear -

Seignurs, mal le creüz, ke ja avienge neent  
A nul home del mund de sun purposement,  
Si Deus n'en ad aunceis fait sun ordenement. 3586-8

So the will of God is the reason, not only for Horn's survival and success, but even for Rigmel's single state.<sup>9</sup>

The strong note of destiny throughout the poem is augmented by prophetic dreams; Horn has a visionary dream of Wikele's threat to Rigmel, and Rodmund receives warning of his impending doom in an animal dream. It is interesting to see how lightly this Saracen king wears his knowledge of dream symbolism:

"Pors" senefient "gent" en sunge - ben le sai. 4652

This relationship between God and the crusading hero is repeated in Boeve. This time the hero is reared among pagans, but he still stubbornly refuses to abjure his faith even when tempted with a kingdom. Love also is of secondary importance - he is totally uninterested in Josiane until she declares her willingness to be converted, and from then on he loves her faithfully. Boeve's status as a Christian hero is emphasised by his prayer from the snake-pit, one of the more dignified passages in the romance.<sup>10</sup> The final stages of his career

would fulfil the wildest day-dreams of any crusader. He kills the heathen king Yvori (who has a counsellor called Judas), seizes the heathen capital of Monbrant, killing all the inhabitants except for those who accept mass baptism, and smashes the heathen idols. From all this, the narrator remarks:

Dampnedeu ad joie e le deble est dolent 3684

Finally Boeve is crowned by the Pope and gains a kingdom for each of his sons, thus completing God's pre-ordained plan:

Ore est Boves roi coroné  
e ses deus fiz, com deus out destine' 3787-8

In this respect, as in many others, Boeve compares badly with Horn, and represents the degeneracy of the type of crusading romance. The action is too predictable, too obvious, the hero unflawed, his successes too vast and easy to be either convincing or interesting. One reason for this is that in Boeve the Saracens are those of the east, more distant and fabulous than even in the chansons, and possible to live among or even marry. Those of Horn are the Vikings of history, still seen as a threat to the immediate home and family of the hero, capable of rousing real fear and, although often personally admirable, to be completely destroyed.

It is in keeping with the more fabulous nature of its crusading material that Boeve also has some magic, of a rather mechanical nature - the belt which preserves Josiane's virginity,<sup>11</sup> and a carbuncle stone that acts as a crystal ball<sup>12</sup> - whereas Horn had none. But in both romances the nature of the supernatural is dictated by the subject matter, and relates to that of the chansons.



Waldef provides one of the most deliberate statements of the difference between the two systems of the supernatural, in Waldef's refusal to accept a magic ring offered by Ernild because he wants the credit for his success in battle to belong solely to his prowess.<sup>13</sup> This ring is the only sign of magic in the poem;<sup>14</sup> for the rest it follows the usual pattern of epic dream,<sup>15</sup> divine help in battle,<sup>16</sup> and monstrous pagans.<sup>17</sup> Waldef himself operates under divine protection, as did Horn and Boeve, but the spiritual status of his son, Guiac, is more complex. His career as a land-hungry knight reaches its culmination when he deposes the Emperor and is crowned in his stead. He then claims, in deliberate imitation of Alexander, that there are worlds yet left to conquer, and that the next will be the "parais terrestre".<sup>18</sup> In response to this boast a mysterious pilgrim appears and warns him of the frailty of human endeavour. Guiac repents of his misdeeds:

E tanz francs hummes occis ai  
 E tanz chasteals e tanz citez,  
 Tantes terres e tant regnez  
 Par mun mesfet sunt degastez

21706-9

renounces his crown, family, and followers, and departs in the garb of a poor palmer. The resemblance to the later Gui de Warewic<sup>19</sup> is strong and the whole episode is strangely out of keeping with the amoral tone of the romance as a whole.

With the romances of Hue de Roteland, the basic demands of the subject matter are totally different; Saracens are scarce,<sup>20</sup> and the hero's adventures are not the subject of divine concern. What is perhaps surprising, however, is that the light-hearted and fashionable romance of Ipomedon contains

no magic at all. It is a thoroughly worldly work, not concerned with any deeper explanation for events than the workings of human emotions, nor with any more startling occurrences than those caused by pique or pride.

Fashion, however, had decreed otherwise, and apparently the audience which demanded a sequel to Ipomedon also demanded some of the newfangled magic. The basic material offers little opportunity for a display of the marvellous, but Protheselaus is given a detour between leaving Medea's court and reaching Ismeine's. Here in some 1,500 lines<sup>21</sup> is a passage packed with magic fountains, faery knights, evil rings, hermits and damsels wandering in deep forests and mysterious castles. Hue had certainly invested in the "company for the profitable working of Broceliande".<sup>22</sup> The episode is superfluous to the romance as a whole and the rest of Protheselaus's career is as prosaic as that of his father.

In Fergus there is no doubt that we are in the same magical and marvellous universe as that of Chretien's Arthurian romances.<sup>23</sup> What is more, "Guillaume le clerc" is that rarity among medieval romancers - a writer who exploits the supernatural potential of his material to the full. The supernatural in this romance is entirely of the second type, and Fergus has nothing of the crusader about him; he is the champion of Galiene, not of Christendom, England or even Galloway. His quest for Galiene leads him through a full range of marvels - a healing fountain, a dwarf, giantess and dragon, and above all the shield of Dunestre.<sup>24</sup> The latter gives rise to some of the most

imaginative writing in the romance, for example the following passage, describing Galiene's near-suicide:

La dame el plus haut de sa tor  
 Tote sole en estoit alee  
 Que ne li plaist ne li agree  
 Que ja nus l'en reconfortast  
 Et que d'ilueques se laissaſt  
 Caoir por sa vie finer.  
 Ester s'en va a un piler  
 De terre trente toisses halt.  
 D'ilueques esgardoit son salt.  
 Entor li estraint durement  
 Ses dras, qu'ele veut vraiment  
 Que li vens ne s'i enbatist  
 Ne que il le contretenist.....  
 Sainne son vis de sa main destre;  
 Puis met son cief a la fenestre  
 Por soi laissier aval coler.  
 Mais dius ne le vaut endurer  
 Que illuec une ame perdist.  
 Une vois ot qu'en haut li dist  
 "Pucele, tu n'ies mie sage:  
 Esgarde avant vers le boschage!"  
 Itant dist et atant laissa  
 La pucele le regarda  
 Et vit ausi enluminee  
 La forest, con fust enbrasee.  
 Plus garde, plus enluminoit  
 Cil ki la clarte aportoit.

5711-23; 5738-51

This passage is rare, if not unique, in Arthurian romance, in its consideration of premeditated suicide.<sup>25</sup> It is also remarkable for the combination of sympathy and suspense, and the contrast between the convincing detail - the drop of 180 feet, and Galiene drawing her robes around her - and the strange illumination of the forest.

The encyclopaedic Gui de Warewic inevitably contains elements of both supernatural systems. Most of the magic, which is highly conventionalised and treated with calm acceptance, is to be found in the Reinbrun section. Gui himself is modelled on the crusader type of hero, and as befits a champion of Christendom has armour loaded with miraculous powers and endowed with an impressive pedigree:



Un halberc out qui ert faé,  
 Qui al rei Charles fu presenté  
 Quant en Jerusalem esteit;  
 En sun tresor puis mis l'aveit,  
 Un larrun d'iloèques l'embla,  
 En la terre as Sarazins le porta;  
 Li ancestre Triamor l'achaterent  
 En grant cherté le garderent,  
 En cest bosoig l'unt a Gui baillé.

8389-97

Thus the English champion of Christendom inherits the trappings of the chanson heroes. This element is of course especially marked in the Colbrond fight, in which Gui becomes the national champion against the pagan challenger, calling on God whereas Colbrond invokes "Mahun!"<sup>26</sup> It is in keeping with this tradition that Gui should retreat to a forest hermitage to die, and that miracles should be performed at his grave.

Gui de Warewic can only be judged by its borrowings, but even so it is significant that the author chose to invest his hero with the attributes of a chanson hero, and avoided, with remarkable consistency, the operations of the magical.

As we have seen, Fouke Fitzwarin is a bi-partite work, combining the historical romance with the exotic, and the supernatural shows a similar balance. The beginning reveals some interest in the myths of the Welsh marches, with the fight between Payn Peverel and Geogmagog which, like the two "Prophecies of Merlin" is an imitation of Gaufredian literature.<sup>27</sup> The main part of the romance, the account of the Fitzwarin family and of Fouke's early career, is totally lacking in any supernatural element, but Fouke's two voyages are very different. The first is in the tradition of the "imram", a voyage around marvellous lands and islands, peopled with dragons and giants. In the second voyage there is an element of the crusading romance, with Fouke converting a Saracen kingdom, and there is more than

a hint of the type in the ending of the romance in which Fouke is blinded as a penance. This episode gives an interesting example of the methods of the historical romance: the author has the facts of Fouke's blindness and retirement upon which to build and he combines elements from earlier romances to make the blindness a heaven-sent sign that enhances his hero's stature. Fouke is blinded while confessing his sins -

Fouke se purpensa qu'il avoit grantment meserré  
cointre Dieu, come en occisioun des gentz e autres  
grauntz meffetz..... p.83

He founds a priory in expiation, and dies an exemplary death. If his behaviour recalls that of Gui, it is interesting to note that Clarice, like Argentille, awakes to find her husband enveloped in a supernatural light, and that she does not react so calmly:

La dame enveilly e vist le grant clarété e mussa  
sa face de pour" p.84

Even as brief a summary as this makes it clear that of the two systems of the supernatural, it is the first, inherited from the epic, that is most popular with the Anglo-Norman romancers. Where the first system occurs it forms an integral part of the romance, while the exotic magic of the second system has a decorative rather than structural function, and indeed only in Fergus is it of more than episodic importance. Considering the length of time spanned by these romances, there is remarkably little trace of the inconsequential but significant marvels and mysteries of the roman courtois. In his close analysis of Chretien's Yvain, Auerbach concludes that "the fairy-tale atmosphere is the true element of the courtly romance",<sup>28</sup>

and that magic, like love, is a fundamental ingredient in the artificial world of the knightly aventure. In this difference it seems that we have another indication of the character of the historical romance. The implications of the magical system are at odds with the purpose of the historical romance, but the first system which gives credit for the hero's success to his own efforts and the workings of his destiny, is consistent with that purpose, enhancing the stature of the hero and giving an additional air of permanency and rectitude to the dynasty or kingdom he establishes. This tendency to model the hero on those of the crusading chansons, would seem indicative of nothing more than old-fashioned tastes, were it not that the consistency of treatment over the years between Haveloc and Fouke Fitzwarin suggested again the deliberate choice of material suitable for a specific purpose.



2(e): Feudalism

Medieval narrative literature, whether epic or romance, was an expression of the social system that prevailed from the Germanic invasions until the Renaissance - feudalism. It was this system that provided the accepted ethical, social and political framework of life and literature alike. From its origins as a form of mutual protection in a period of danger and disorder, there grew up an elaborate social structure that extended, with local modifications, across western Europe. But the extent of feudalism was not only geographical; it reached into the lives of men, affecting their view of themselves and of their fellows, dictating the pattern of social and personal relationships, and even forming the model for man's relationship with God.

Basically, this system depended on an "oligarchy of warriors"<sup>1</sup> in whom were vested military power and legal authority, bound together by ties of loyalty in the service of an overlord, and deriving their power and dignity from the lands which he granted them in return for their homage. Land, and the bonds of mutual self-interest between lord and vassal, are the essentials of feudalism, but neither are very much in evidence in the idealised forms of the system depicted in the chansons and the romances of Chretien and his followers. In the Chanson de Roland, for example, feudalism is presented in such a way as to isolate and exaggerate the personal bond between vassal and lord, with the result that Charlemagne attains a dignity, and wields a power, totally inconsistent with the contemporary

state of the French monarchy; later chansons are more realistic in their portrayal of a weak monarch surrounded by anarchic barons.

In the romans courtois, however, feudalism is even less recognisable, because it inevitably contradicts two basic principles of such romance, in that it is not individualistic and it does not allow the primacy of love, other relationships being more important than that of lover and mistress. So, in the roman courtois, the social and political basis of feudalism has faded into the background, while the symbols and expressions of personal dependence are translated into those of love, religious devotion, or chivalry, that compromise between idealism and practical necessity that came to be the major subject of French romance. Such romance, it has been argued, served the nobility of France as a compensation for the breakdown of the feudal system, a flight from social reality into an individual fantasy:

the feudal ethos serves no political function; it serves no practical reality at all; it has become absolute. It no longer has any purpose but that of self-realisation.     2

The trappings of feudalism are still taken for granted, and form the social background against which the adventures of the hero are enacted, but the basic concerns of the romance, and the character and motivation of the hero, are not those of feudalism.

Nevertheless, as we shall see, feudalism does play an important part in the historical romance, and it is this which accounts for the "epic" qualities of some of these romances. It is not, however, the feudalism of the chansons, but a reflection of that of England in the twelfth and thirteenth

centuries, and this is significant because England was in many ways exceptional in feudal Europe.<sup>3</sup> From the time of the Oaths of Salisbury in 1086, when William the Conqueror had extracted oaths of liege homage from all men of authority, the Anglo-Norman kings had created a feudal system that was the envy of Europe. The power of the king, who alone had the dispensation of lands won at the Conquest, was from an early date more extensive than that of the Capetians and, with the exception of the reign of Stephen, the king's peace and the royal administration were paramount. The barons and magnates beneath the king in the feudal structure were not distinguished from the body of other free men by any legal status, but only by their lands and the privileges appertaining to them - which were, at least in theory, ultimately at the disposal of the king. The class structure in England was thus more fluid than in France, and nobility and knighthood were never as exclusive, which is probably why, despite attempts to import chivalry into both life and literature, it never quite lost its alien quality.

If the development of feudalism in England was thus different from that in France, and if one aspect of this was that claims to dignity were based on land and the family rather than on class exclusiveness, then we should be alerted by the subject matter of the Anglo-Norman romances, with their "ancestral" and localised interests, to re-examine feudal themes which may be only of minor importance in the romances of France. An investigation of these topics shows that it is in feudalism, and those subjects associated with it and of interest to a feudal nobility, that the principles and aims of the historical romance



are to be found, rather than in love, religion, or aventure.

We have seen already that the court in Anglo-Norman romance is represented as both a centre of courtoisie, and as a court of law and seat of government. This practical interest is evident even in the romances of Hue de Roteland as, for example, in the description of La Fiere's court as a judicial gathering:

Cel jor i ert la cort plenere  
De riches hommes, qe la fiere  
Teneit adonqe mult grant plet  
Des melleez & de meffet;  
Deus riche barons de sa terre  
Esteient entre en grant guerre;  
Cel jor amassier les voleit,  
Car de redde justise esteit.

367-74

If such interest is to be found in a romance such as Ipomedon, it is only to be expected that it should be even more in evidence in the other Anglo-Norman romances. So it is that, typically, Waldef's first act on regaining his lands from the usurper Frode, is to call a court:

Waldef a fet sa gent mander,  
Que tuz viengnent a li parler  
Contes e barons, vaasurs,  
Quanque de li tienent honors

3225-8

This is perhaps the most characteristic scene of the historical romance, that of the hero, established in his patrimony, receiving the homage of his vassals.<sup>4</sup> The standards and relationships implicit here are more fundamental to the purpose of the romance than even those of courtoisie, and they are crystallised in the symbols and the vocabulary of feudalism which are everywhere to be found. So we have the rituals of feudal society - the ceremony of homage, the oaths of fealty,<sup>5</sup> the rendering of a token such as a glove as a sign of submission,<sup>6</sup>

or, conversely, the formal desfiance.<sup>7</sup> We also have the vocabulary of medieval feudalism - "sa gent", "vañsurs", "honurs" - each word of which contains a wealth of reference and meaning. But rituals and phrases can be automatic and empty, and we need to look further than such superficial manifestations for an assessment of the importance of feudalism in these romances.

Once summoned, Waldef's vassals express in strong terms their opinion that he should marry, and suggest a suitable bride; their suggestion is accepted and he marries Ernild of Nichole. This is a faithful reflection of the idea that the vassal's duty towards his lord was the dual one of "aider et conseiller". The military prowess which constituted the first part of this was greatly prized, but equally important was the second element, in which the barons recognised a vital source of power, and one to be jealously guarded:

In the thought of the thirteenth century, absolutism, in the sense of irresponsibility, was a proof of weakness or of a bad education in kingship. 8

So the ideal ruler surrounded himself with wise counsellors, of whom the closest and most influential were his barons - such at any rate, was the ideal of feudal Europe, that gave rise to those archetypal images of feudal society, the "douzepers", and the Round Table.

Similar scenes occur in other Anglo-Norman romances: Haveloc rules by the counsel of his barons,<sup>9</sup> and the splendid court of Hunlaf is quickly turned into a consultative assembly on the arrival of the Saracen challenge:

Quant li reis l'ot of grains en fu e dolent.  
 Les tables fet oster, e çoe delivrement,  
 En ses chambres s'en vait tenir un parlement.  
 Od li ad amene tut le meuz de sa gent. 1364-7

When Protheselaus has made peace with his brother, it has to be ratified by the baronial council,<sup>10</sup> and in Ipomedon, Meleager summons "le cumun conseil" which, we are told convincingly, takes a month to assemble.<sup>11</sup> La Fiere's marriage, like Waldef's, is a matter of baronial concern, and has eventually to be approved by the council of her barons,<sup>12</sup> and in Fergus Galiene's barons play a similar role. In Horn and Waldef the decision to go to war is taken by the baronial council,<sup>13</sup> and Fouke Fitzwarin is finally reconciled with King John by the intercession of Ranulph of Chester and Hugh Marshal.<sup>14</sup>

None of this is remarkable, given the date of these works; it is the stuff of everyday life, and part of the realistic detail of the romances. Some of it, most notably baronial pressure on a heroine to marry, is to be found in the romances of Chretien,<sup>15</sup> but the consistent emphasis laid on this theme in the Anglo-Norman romances is unusual and significant.

At the centre of the feudal system is the overlord - king or baron - who gathers the court around him. He is the centre of the court's splendour, its law and its administrative activity, and in the stock figure of the ideal ruler that emerges in the Anglo-Norman romances, we have an example of the influence of current feudal ideas on characterisation.

The description of William the Conqueror in the Peterborough Chronicle is one which is no less convincing for being typical of the ideal:



Betwyx odrum þingum, nis na to forgytane þet gode  
 frid þe he macode on þisan lande, swa þet an man  
 þe himsylv aht waere mihte faran ofter his rice, mid  
 his bosum full goldes ungederad. 16

The Chronicle's account of the two Henries sounds a similar note of awesome rectitude - "God man he wes & micel aeie wes of him"<sup>17</sup> - and of a firmly established peace. The same motif is repeated in the Anglo-Norman Gui:<sup>18</sup>

E faite i aveit tele peis  
 Si hom portast d'argent sun feis,  
 Ne trovereit robeur ne larrun  
 Que li tolsist vaillant un botun 107-110

This applies to the Earl of Warwick's seneschal, but the Earl himself holds his lands firmly against all outside threats:

Par tut le regne ert mult dotez  
 N'aveit home en tote la tere  
 Ki vers lui osast prendre guere  
 Que par force tost nel preist  
 E en sa chartre le meist 34-8

As we should expect, the author of Gui is far from original in this, and the figure of the awesome but just ruler recurs throughout Anglo-Norman romance. The formula is repeated with little change in Waldef,<sup>19</sup> Horn,<sup>20</sup> and Ipomedon, where Hue draws some general conclusions on the subject:

Tuz jours son regne en pes teneit;  
 Il n'out voisin en nulle terre,  
 Ky vers luy osa mover guerre.....  
 Si il teneit e sens e mesure  
 Pur meintener lai e dreiture,  
 Kar, a certes, par fol seignur  
 N'iert bien tenue grant honor 52-4; 59-62

The lord who thus maintains justice and peace is often a stern and authoritative figure; so Horn is described addressing his court:

Il se tindrent tut koi, n'i osent mot suner,  
 Kar il le dotent tuit, taunt le sievent a fier;  
 Quant il est corocie' nul ne l'ose aprimer  
 E quant il s'esjoist chescun i poet joer. 4574-7

The antecedents of this portrait are both literary and biblical. It has some similarities to the character of Charlemagne in the chansons<sup>21</sup> fierce, autocratic, and of slow and stern speech, but later ideas make the description more complex. The development of the ideals of peace and justice, evident in the passages from the Peterborough Chronicle, received more articulate and detailed treatment in the Policraticus of John of Salisbury, written at the court of Henry II.<sup>22</sup> His portrait of the just ruler, based on the Book of Job, although representative of ecclesiastical rather than feudal ideas, is in many ways closer to the character drawn in the romances than is the static, highly symbolic figure of Charlemagne:

When I went forth unto the gate of the city and they prepared a seat for me in the street, the young men looked upon me and hid themselves away, but the elders rose up and stood: their chief men ceased from speaking and placed a finger on their lips; the leaders hushed their voice and their tongue cleaved to the roof of their mouth. The ear that heard me blessed me, and the eye that saw me gave witness unto me, because I set free the poor man that cried, and the orphan that had none to aid him.....I clothed myself with justice, and I garbed myself with judgement as with a robe and diadem. I was an eye for the blind and a foot for the lame. I was a father to the poor, and diligently enquired into the case which I did not understand. I brake the jaws of the unjust man and from his teeth I bore away his prey.....Those who heard me awaited my opinion, and kept silent, attentive to my counsel and.....They did not dare add to my words, and..... if at times I laughed in their presence, they did not believe it....and when I had seated myself like a king with his army standing round, I was the solace of them that mourned.

23

This ecclesiastical portrait is of a more autocratic figure than would be acceptable to feudal ideas, and has a moral rather than a practical frame of reference. In the vernacular literature it is perhaps most closely approached by Layamon in his portrait of Arthur,<sup>24</sup> but there are elements in it.

discernible in the figure of the ideal ruler as it developed in Anglo-Norman romance.

Contemporary feudalism clearly contributed much to the portrait: the emphasis on military strength, on land and the defence of territory, on consultation, and even, quite often, prosaic details of judicial and administrative functions:

Protheselaus -

Homages, serementz ad pris,  
Assist lays et justiceries,  
Remua les conestablies  
En ses cités et ses chastels  
E si refist baillifs novels. 12539-43

A significant variation on the theme of the strong ruler who defends his frontiers against unruly neighbours is to be found in the description of Horn's career as Hunlaf's "conestable". Hunlaf has grown old and weak, and it is only through Horn's strength and military ability that he can hold his kingdom together:<sup>25</sup>

Tuit oil ki orent ainz rei Hunlaf en vilté  
Pur sun eage grant e pur sa fiebleté,  
Ad dan Horn si destruit et itaunt guerreié,  
U il voillent u nun que merci ont crié  
E ont rendu treu e ostage livré  
De tenir vers Hunlaf e pez e quieté; .....  
Pur çoe est pais e triwe par tut l'onor crié, .....  
Kè il n'ad nul veisin par ki seit travaille,  
Kar taunt redutent Horn e sa roiste fierté;  
E la u veut le mal mut tost s'en est venge,  
E la u veut le bien mut est d'humilité;

1751-6; 1759a; 1764-7

It is not only the trappings of feudalism - the "treu", the exchange of hostages, the "onur" - that are noticeable, nor the sentiments in the last couplet, worthy of a John of Salisbury, but the basic contention of the passage. It is consistent with the tone of the romance, and of others, that it should be the noble or baron who exemplifies the strong



ruler, while the king is weak and dependent. The same applies to the other king in Horn, Gudreche, who first appears at the centre of a noble court, but who is totally dependent on Horn after the death of his sons. The author's unqualified admiration is kept, not for the kings he describes, but for the hero and for the two seneschals, Hardre in Suddene,<sup>26</sup> and Herland in Brittany:

Ki esteit seneschal rei Hunlaf principer;  
Tut sun regne avoit il e sun poeple a garder;  
Bien lo savait par dreit e par lei justisier. 128-30

All this is reminiscent of a number of other powerful and just baronial rulers to be found in these romances: Sigar, seneschal of the king of Denmark; Gui's father, seneschal of the Earl of Warwick; Boeve's father, chancellor of England; the Marcher lords of the Fitzwarin family and their allies. The moral seems clear enough. Where the king is not weak through age, he may be misguided, as in the description of Bede in Waldef, a passage which seems to hint at more immediate grievances:

Les estranges genz mult ama  
E les suens hummes mult avila;  
Des suens en prist a sum poeir;  
As estranges duna l'avoir 411-14

However, except in the case of the usurpers in the Haveloc tale, there is only one thoroughly villainous king and, significantly, it is a real one, King John in Fouke Fitzwarin. His villainy is apparent from childhood, and the romance repeats the current tales of his lechery with which many nobles, in fact, excused their rebellion:<sup>27</sup>

Le roy Johan fust home santz conscience, mavois, contrarious e hay de tote bone gent e lecherous, e s'yl poeit oyr de nulle bele dame ou damoisele, femme ou fyle de counte ou de baron, e d'autre, yl la voleynt a sa volenté aver, ou par promesse ou par don engyner, ou par force ravyr, e, pur ce, fust le plus hay.

p.49

There are, of course, feudal villains in the romances,<sup>28</sup> but with the exception of King John they are not kings, but those around them, especially the deputies of seneschals of the rulers, who are in a position to wield power for good or evil. In this they are similar to the villains of the chansons,<sup>29</sup> but in other respects the villain of the historical romance is further developed as a foil to the just ruler. He is, of course, treacherous, and as a traitor is in the direct line of descent from the clan of Ganelon, but he is also tyrannous. This theme of tyranny, repeatedly stressed in these romances, is again reminiscent of the theories of John of Salisbury.<sup>30</sup> In the Policraticus the touchstone of the difference between the just prince and the tyrant is the law:

A tyrant.....is one who oppresses the people by rulership based upon force, while he who rules in accordance with the laws is a prince....The law is assailed by force or by fraud, and, as it were, either wrecked by the fury of the lion or undermined by the wiles of the serpent....The prince fights for the laws and the liberty of the people; the tyrant thinks nothing done unless he brings the laws to nought and reduces the people to slavery. Hence the prince is a kind of likeness of divinity; and the tyrant, on the contrary, a likeness of the boldness of the Adversary, even of the wickedness of Lucifer..... 31

The villain in Anglo-Norman romance is powerful and cunning. Anfion in Ipomedon is not only the most dangerous of La Fiere's barons, but also one of the wisest:

E mut sout des anciens lais;  
Le plus sage home ert del pais, 1940-1

and his descendant, Pentalis in Protheselaus has military strength:<sup>32</sup>

Riches hom fu cist Pentalis  
Et ot castels mult bel asis  
Sor la marine, bels et forz  
Le danger ot de plusura porz  
Le plus forcible de la tere,  
Fel fu et enginnus de guerre 85-90

and considerable administrative ability displayed in his usurpation of Calabria.<sup>33</sup> Both villains in the Haveloc legend are powerful and trusted barons until they become usurpers, ruling by fear and the flouting of feudal law. Thus the Lai gives a lengthy account of Alsi's oath to his dying king, and of his scheming to bend, rather than break it.<sup>34</sup> However, the wiles of the serpent are soon enforced by the fury of the lion, for having decided to marry Argentille to his cook, the usurper makes preparations to quell any objections from his barons:

En sa chambre set vinz armez,  
Kar il quidot aveir mellee 347-8

and this proves prudent in view of their reaction:

Ja i eust granz colps donez  
Quant il demande ses armez..... 379-80

Odulf in Denmark rules by force, not regal right, and is served by the Danes:

Tant par destreit, tan par pour 41

The Duc de Pavie in Gui is an even more extreme example of the same type.<sup>35</sup> He wields such power in the Empire that he can promote those he chooses, and exile those he dislikes, seizing their lands and, if possible, their wives as well. His prisons



are waiting for those who oppose this reign of terror, and so greatly is he feared that Terri cannot find a single champion to oppose him at the Emperor's court. Wikele, in Horn, is closer to the chanson type of traitor, being one of the hero's followers until he withdraws his fealty and plots his destruction. But his methods and aims are familiar; he builds a strong castle, gathers an army, and beseiges Hunlaf until hunger forces the king to surrender Rigmel to him.

The stock villain of these romances thus runs true to type, and the main attribute of the type is the corrupt use of power and the flouting of law and loyalty.<sup>36</sup> As yet it is his deeds rather than his character that mark out the villain, but the portrait of the tyrant drawn by John of Salisbury suggested a deeper evil, and this potential was, as we shall see, to be developed in Middle English treatments of the same characters.<sup>37</sup>

Painter notes<sup>38</sup> that during the thirteenth century the position of seneschal, for long one of inherited power and dignity, began to be held by hired administrators, efficient servants of no family or rank. It is perhaps not entirely fanciful to see in this development the germ of the two types of seneschal found in romance - the noble Herland type, a baron in his own right, loyal and obedient to feudal law, and the treacherous power-seeker, who having insinuated his way from nonentity into his lord's favour, exercises his new-found power with no respect for persons or established custom. Whatever its origin, this tradition is also to be found in Arthurian romance, in which the uncourtly Kay is traditionally Arthur's

seneschal, and the traitor Modred his deputy, a position of trust that he betrays in the best manner of his kind.

As the feudal system depended ultimately on land tenure, it is not surprising that the theme of inheritance and the possession of land should be a major one in these romances. Typically, the hero of an Anglo-Norman romance is a landless "bachelor", often unjustly exiled from his own lands and thereby from his rightful place in society, who in the course of the action wins back his lands and with them his social position. The themes of marriage and the family are an important part of this; that of love usually runs a poor second.

The striking similarity in theme between romances such as Horn, Haveloc and Boeve, has often been ascribed to an "exile-and-return" saga tradition, surviving from pre-Conquest literature.<sup>39</sup> While this may be true of the basic material, the choice of material remains significant, as does the repetition of the theme in non-traditional romances such as Protheselaus and Fouke Fitzwarin, and the treatment of the theme is thoroughly detailed and contemporary. Thus six of the heroes - Haveloc, Horn, Boeve, Waldef, Protheselaus and Fouke Fitzwarin - are disinherited, and all are driven by the desire to regain the lands they regard as rightfully theirs; as Fouke replies to the French king who offers him a richer estate in France:

Certes, sire, fet il, yl n'est pas digne de receyvre  
terres de autruy doun qe les suens de dreit heritage  
ne puet tenir a reson.

p.57

Theoretically, all land was in the gift of the lord, but in practice it soon became a matter of inheritance. Thus the child

Boeve attacks the Emperor who murdered his father, not only for vengeance, but also to demand "rendez moi ma terre",<sup>40</sup> and it is the desire for his own lands that draws Boeve back to England.

It is partly this feudal stress on the hero's lands that gives these romances one of their strongest characteristics - a powerful feeling of locality. The role of ancestor apparently filled by several of the heroes has led to five of the romances being classified as "ancestral" romances.<sup>41</sup> While this is a valid description, it does create a misleading division between romances such as Gui, Boeve, or Waldef and those such as Haveloc and Horn in which the theme of ancestry is missing. But what all these romances do share is this interest in their own corner of Britain - Grimsby, Warwick, Southampton, Galloway, Whittington, Thetford, and, no doubt, if the disguise could be penetrated, Suddene. The only exceptions are the romances of Hue de Roteland, where the setting is the distant one of the southern Italian kingdoms, but although the land in question is foreign, the sentiments are the same. If even the Arthurian world of Fergus is affected by this fashion to such an extent that it is merged into a precise Galwegian setting, then the impulse is indeed strong.<sup>42</sup> It is an impulse to give fiction an appearance of fact, to create a history for a country, a family or a place, and it is one which is fundamentally uncondusive to the development of the exotic romance.

Inextricably bound up with the theme of land tenure and inheritance are those of the family and of marriage.<sup>43</sup> The family is a close-knit unit of great importance which can bring



honour to its members or pre-ordain a villainous character, as in the cases of Pentalis and Wikele.<sup>44</sup> Haveloc, Horn and Fouke are all conscious of being their father's sons, and Protheselaus, like Haveloc, is recognised as Ipomedon's son by his style of fighting:

Certes, vous engendra my peres  
Car unk nout done coup si bon  
Nuls hom melz forz Ipomedon 12257-9

The heroines are equally aware of family ties, and a sense of family shame, typical of the feudal age,<sup>45</sup> plays an important part in the soliloquies of Ismeine and Galiene.<sup>46</sup>

In these romances it is the history of the family as much as that of the individual that counts; the saga of the Fitzwarin family is thus taken back several generations, and the careers of Boeve and Waldef are concerned with the acquisition of kingdoms for their sons. The actions of the individual have consequences beyond his own life -

Qui governereit après noz jurz  
Noz chastels e noz honurs? 1159-60

ask Gui's parents when he decides to seek honour abroad, and the same sentiments are voiced by Waldef when his sons leave England.<sup>47</sup> Gui is also typical in seeing 'death in battle in terms of family loss:<sup>48</sup>

Qui fiz a riches baruns esteient,  
De loinz lur pris quere veneient;  
Lur peres, quant le saverunt  
Pur els grant duel demerrunt. 2201-4

This consciousness of family responsibility can also colour the attitude to marriage,<sup>49</sup> as is seen in Fouke Fitzwarin:

Fouke la vist e savoit bien qe ele fust bele, bone  
 e de bon los, e qe ele avoit en Yrlaunde fortz  
 chastels, cités, terres e rentes e grantz homages.  
 Par assent William, son frere, e par consayl de  
 le erchevesqe Herbert, esposa dame Mahaud de Caus. p.41

The inaccuracies of the romancer's account of the match  
 between Fouke and Matilda Walter need not concern us here.<sup>50</sup>  
 What is of interest is the businesslike detail - the lady is,  
 of course, beautiful and of good reputation, but the main  
 attraction is unmistakably her lands. The match has been  
 arranged by her brother-in-law, Archbishop Hubert, and Fouke  
 consults his heir, his brother William. The match proves to  
 be fruitful and successful in social terms, but there is no  
 mention of love - indeed the only emotion aroused by it is  
 the fury of King John.

This utilitarian view of marriage is more blatant in  
Fouke Fitzwarin than in the other romances, but it is often  
 discernible beneath the courtly gloss. It is apparent in the  
 attitude of the King of Orkney in Horn, astonished at "Gudmod's"  
 refusal to marry Lenburc because he is already betrothed to a  
 vavasour's daughter:

Mes n'est pas bien sage par le mien jugement  
 Ki lait fille de roi e a plus basse se prent;  
 Ki regne poet aveir e tiel cummandement,  
 Çoe n'est vis, ki çoe lait, qu'il le fait folement. 3674-7

While Horn's fidelity to Rigmel is admirable, there is no reason  
 to assume that he disagrees with the king, for Rigmel is, after  
 all, no vavasour's daughter. There is certainly a note of  
 worldly familiarity with these matters in the speed with which  
 her marriage to Modin is dissolved by the bishop:

Entre lui e Modin ad trop pres parenté;  
 Il les ferad partir; maintenant iert juré. 4526-7

Even in the Peak Tournament passage in Fouke Fitzwarin, the attractions of the prize, Melette de la Blanche Tour, are increased by her practical uncle who settles an estate on her because "femme que ad terre en fie serra d'assez plus desiree".<sup>51</sup> Only in the death scene at the end of Boeve do we find an explicit preference for the claims of love over those of land:

"Dame, si vus murgez, jeo murrai ensement"  
 "Sire, ke tendra vos riches cassemens?"  
 "Dame, jeo n'en ai cure, a deu lur command" 3813-5

Also to be found in these romances is the problem of the unmarried heiress, under baronial pressure to marry. La Fiere and Galiene face a potential revolt by their vassals because of their delay in finding themselves husbands. La Fiere's barons make it quite clear that they resent her inability to defend her lands against outside attack, and Andion threatens to withdraw his homage:

U ele mult tost segnur prendra  
 U mun servise e mei perdra 1979-80

Similarly in Fergus where this is the only serious feudal theme to be considered, Galiene seeks a husband from Arthur because

Mauvaissement est governee  
 Terre que a feme repaire 6648-9

Earlier her vassals, speaking through a "deputaire"<sup>52</sup> had refused to champion her against an unwelcome suitor as they would prefer her to marry even a man she hates than to leave the land any longer without a lord. Such an extreme attitude is criticised in Ipomedon:

De femme prendre e espuser  
 N'est mie a billette juer 2403-4

and it is indeed usual for the heroine to choose her husband.



The anti-romantic element in this is in fact misleading. Both Ipomedon and Fergus are very idealistic in their treatment of the love between the hero and heroine; this note of feudal practicality merely serves to render the course of true love more difficult, only to be triumphantly overcome in the end. Yet it is never challenged - the implicit message of both romances is that the interests of love and lands are identical, and this remains the most that the Anglo-Norman romances concede to the idealisation of love.

The feudal system is more concerned with the relationship between man and man, bound by the ties of homage and fealty, than with those between man and woman, and the stronger the feudal element, the more the emotional content of a romance derives from such relationships. On a simple level this gives rise to the joy expressed by Sigar when he discovers Haveloc:

Ore ai mun dreit seignur trovez 720

or to the sorrow expressed by Gui over the bodies of his men:

Ahi! chevalers vaillanz!  
 Tant fustes preuz e combatanz!  
 Pur m'amur estes tuz morz;  
 Tant mar veistes unc mun cors!  
 Coment dei jo de vus departir?  
 Pur quei ne puis od vus morir? 1421-6

But feudalism could only too easily lead to a more complex situation of conflicting loyalties; Melander refuses to allow a family vendetta to destroy his friendship with Protheselaus:

S'il aveit mort tut mon lignage,  
 Ne lui faldrai ja jor de vie,  
 Tant ai amé sa cumpanie 8071-3

The most extensive treatment of such a problem occurs in the Okenard episode in Waldef.<sup>53</sup> Okenard, one of Waldef's vassals, allies himself to Fergus of London, Waldef's enemy, by whom

Waldef is eventually captured and thrown into prison. On a pretext, Okenard releases Waldef, declaring

Mielz voil murir en lealté  
 Que vivere en hunte e en vilté  
 E estre tenu a parjure 10509-11

He remains behind in London and confesses to Fergus, who calls a baronial court to try his case. After a lengthy discussion of feudal duties, the court decides that Okenard acted correctly as he was Waldef's "man" and not Fergus's:

N'iert mervelle s'il ot dolur  
 Quant il vit tenir sun sengnur  
 Qui humme lige il estoit  
 E lignance a lui fet avoit. 10747-50

Released by Fergus, Okenard returns to Thetford, to be rewarded by Waldef with the kingdom of Nichole.

Although feudalism originated independently of Christianity, the conception of man as the vassal of God soon found widespread acceptance and expression.<sup>54</sup> It receives its fullest expression in the Anglo-Norman romances in Gui's riddling reply to inquiries as to why he left his native land:

Verraiment servi un seignur  
 Qui me fiet ja grant honor  
 Par lui esteie mult honoré  
 Entre reis e princes mult amé;  
 Par mesaventure puis li forfis  
 De la terre m'en alai e del pais,  
 Ensemble od ço vois cum penant,  
 Sa merci tut dis attendant;  
 Quant serrai a lui accordé,  
 Si m'en repeirerai al regné. 8317-26

But that religious fervour, no more than love, is allowed to interfere with the feudal hero's responsibilities is evident from the manner of Gui's disappearance from Warwick. He leaves his lands in good hands, and commends his wife and child to the care of Heralt and the Earl, all of which contrasts sharply with the careless fashion in which the hero of Guillaume d'Angleterre,

for example, leaves his kingdom.<sup>55</sup> The reason for the contrast is that Guillaume is a saint's life with standards of conduct and interests far removed from those of the feudal romance which, despite the moniage ending, Gui still is. The saintly hero holds the world in contempt, and triumphs in rejecting its concerns and pleasures; the typical hero of a historical romance is a worldly figure and would not be justified in neglecting his worldly duties in the name of either individual adventure or individual devotion. This contrast is deliberately exploited in Guiac's conversion in Waldef, an episode which in many ways anticipates that in Gui. It is significant that Guiac is not the hero of the romance; it would be totally out of character for Waldef himself to turn palmer, and when Guiac has gone his brother Gudlac remains to attend to the family fortunes. But the emotional drama of Guiac's departure comes from an awareness of the validity of the feudal bonds that he is breaking:

Hai, hai, gentil mesnee,  
 Bone gent fiere e honuree,  
 Unques ne fu tele assemblee  
 De si bone gent e proisee!  
 Ne ja certes n'iert a nul jour  
 Gent si proisee de valur!  
 Aor de vus departirai.

22183-9

Feudal society is above all a military society, and some kind of war is an essential part of its literature. The presentation of war in the Anglo-Norman romances is of interest by virtue of its realistic quality. The romances are not so unrepresentative of their time and class as to criticise war unreservedly, but they do treat the subject with such realism as to leave no doubt of its nature and consequences. In this their treatment differs from both the highly individualised



virtuoso performance usually found in romance, and from the chanson treatment, which, while more bloodthirsty, is rendered unconvincing by its almost ritualistic exaggeration.

By virtue of their subject matter, the romances of Horn and Fouke Fitzwarin provide the fullest treatments of war in these romances. The Romance of Horn takes place against the background of Viking raids and the warfare of petty kingdoms. Whether due to the author's imaginative powers or to the accuracy of his sources, this background is vivid and evocative, and contributes much to the serious and slightly archaic tone of the romance as a whole. In the speech made by the young Horn on arrival at Hunlaf's court, there is a grim and factual account of a Viking raid:

Vindrent sur lui paiens, feluns e reneié,  
 K'il lor aveit ocis mut de lur parenté,  
 Si.l suzpristrent auncéis qu'l en fust acointé;  
 Rodmund out nun li reis, qui iert lur avué.  
 Mis peres i fud pris par sa ruiste fierté,  
 Ki atendre ne vout ke venist sun barné.  
 Pur tant si fud ocis ainz ke venist Hardré,  
 Sun vaillant seneschal ki purs'ost iert alé.  
 Quant mis perres fu mort, si fud abaundonné  
 As paiens le país, si l'unt tut degasté.  
 Ne remist a murir gentill de nul éé,  
 Fors vilains sulement; ne sai si.s ont lesse  
 U si.s ont retenuz pur faire lor laboré.  
 D'aus ne sai dire plus; ne sai cum est alé. 274-87

But he has to face more than the consequences of his father's reckless courage; he also fears that even at Hunlaf's court he may be among enemies:

De mun pere ne sai si vus fist onc damage,  
 Kar il fist en meint liu a muz homes utrage,  
 Pur çoe crem ke trop ai descovert mun corage. 112-4

The story of Horn himself moves forward into the gentler era of romance, but there is clearly cause to regret the loss of the poet's version of Aaluf's story, which may well have been

of more purely epic proportions.<sup>56</sup> Only Waldef, with its bland account of innumerable petty wars, presents an atmosphere of anarchy and fear equal to that suggested by these passages in Horn.

However, war remains a valued occupation in Horn, providing as it does the only opportunity for the hero to prove himself, and when it does come it is presented with a characteristic interest in practical detail. So, when the Saracens attack Brittany, Horn leads out the meinie, leaving the city guarded by those too old for active service because:

Kar il vieil sunt sovent gent bien adurée 1600

After the victory Horn sees that the booty is fairly distributed.<sup>57</sup> The Saracens in Suddene are trapped in a detailed ambush,<sup>58</sup> and a note of similar realism is found in the account of Wikele's seige of Hunlaf,<sup>59</sup> carried out according to the accepted practices of seige warfare. But throughout the romance, the theme of the personal consequences of battle occurs repeatedly, as when "Gudmod" swears to avenge the death of Guffier by which:

..... sa mere est misele  
E Lenburc, sa sorur, la cortoise, la bele; 60  
Sun frere esteit germain; 3305-6

In Fouke Fitzwarin there is no such trace of battles long forgotten; instead, the setting is that of the contemporary Welsh marches, where anarchy and violence were still a reality. The battles of the East are the bloodless forays of romance, and those of the outlaw band are mere skirmishes, but the author deals seriously with the long-standing feud between the Fitzwarins and Joce de Dinan on the one hand, and Walter de Lacy on the other. The episode of the treacherous seizure of Dinan castle has already been described, but the consequences of Marioun de la Bruere's



misplaced passion are not glossed over:

Si mistrent au fyn de chescune rywe en la vyle grant nombre de gentz e fyrent esprendre la vile de fu e en chescune rywe fyrent deus feus. Les borgeys e les merjauntz de la vyle, quant vyrent le feu, leverent des lytz, les uns nuz, les uns vestuz, e ne saveint qe fere, quar tut furent a poy forsenéz. Les chevalers e les esquiers de Lacy les corurent sur, si les decouperent e ocistrent espesement. Les borgois ne se poeynt ne sayeynt defendre, quar tous qe trovéz furent furent detrenchéz ou ars en la feu. Les damoisales alerant par les veneles, vyrent lur pieres e lur freres gisir, detrenchéz, par les rywes, s'engenuerent, prièrent mercy e pardon de vye. Ce fust pur nient, a ce qu l'estoyre dyt; homes, femmes e enfauntz, joevenes e grantz, tous furent ocys ou de arme ou de feu. A taunt vynt le jour; donqe manderent a lur seignour qu'il ou tot son poer venist al chastel de Dynan, e si fust yl e fist mettre sa banere sur le Pendovre en signe de victorie, qu'il aveit conquis ce qu'il eyns fust en prison mys; mes la vile, e quanqe fust leyns, fust arse a neyrs charbouns.

pp.22-3

The relationship between romance and chronicle is here very close, and this grim account of baronial in-fighting explains, with greater clarity if less polish than the Policraticus, why the ideal ruler was one who maintained peace in the land and order amonst his vassals.<sup>61</sup> The awareness shown in this passage of the fate of the "borgeys e les serjauntz" and their families may be especially marked, but it is not unique; one has only to compare Havelock's reason for single combat,<sup>62</sup> and Horn's description of the Viking forced labour, to realise that war, in the historical romances, is not presented as merely an aristocratic pastime.

The tournament, however, is an aristocratic pastime, and as such occurs in Anglo-Norman romance.<sup>63</sup> Rather unexpectedly, perhaps, it is in Ipomedon that the realistic, and potentially critical, treatment of war we have noted comes out into the open in the description of the Three Day Tournament.<sup>64</sup> This tournament is the longest and most ritualised in Anglo-Norman, and is clearly of the order of similar affairs in the romances of Chretien and others.



Webster's comparison of several tournaments in twelfth century romance,<sup>65</sup> including that in Ipomedon, shows how typical and up-to-date Hue's presentation is. However, Webster gives no account of the narrator's comments, which are all the more conspicuous in view of the similarities between Ipomedon and the French romances. The Three Day Tournament provides an opportunity for the hero to prove himself and for the villain to be killed, but it meets with disapproval as a method for choosing a husband:

Unc mes ne fut pur une femme  
 Si fere bataille en nul regne;  
 Tel i quidout venir ke sage,  
 Ke mut mar vit le mariage. 3909-12

and there is a realisation of the fate of the unlucky suitors, which sounds a discordant note amid the courtly festivities:

N'i ad si membre ne si sage,  
 Ki gueres penst de mariage;  
 Tel i pert le pie u le poing,  
 Ke vousist estre d'iloc loingn  
 Teus purreit estre en Cornwaille,  
 S'i vendreit mes a s'espusaille. 4933-8

While Hue's attitude here bears some resemblance to that of the other romances towards war, it is also representative of official opinion of the time. Throughout the twelfth century the tournament was a dangerous melee, more acceptable in romance than in reality. They were banned in England under Henry II, and repeated papal prohibitions, such as that of the Lateran Council in 1179, brought spiritual pressure to bear on those who participated.<sup>66</sup> It was not until the reign of Richard I, who was aware of the military and financial advantages to be gained from them, that tournaments were legalised under royal license. Reality only gradually caught up with romance,<sup>67</sup> and tournaments still took the form of the general melee rather than the individual joust, although developments in armour rendered them less dangerous. The Peak

Tournament in Fouke Fitzwarin, probably the work of a mid-thirteenth century redactor,<sup>68</sup> is an idealised tournament, and as such is indicative of the changing attitude in thirteenth century England.<sup>69</sup>

It remains to enquire what part the several themes connected with feudalism play in each of these romances, and whether in this subject we have something closer to the central pre-occupation of the romances than the themes which have so far been considered.

Of the two Anglo-Norman versions of the Haveloc tale it is, paradoxically, the Lai which has the greater interest in political matters, not Gaimar's chronicle, which antedates the historical romances. The Lai elaborates on the machinations of Edelsi and Adulf, and balances Haveloc against them by making him a more heroic figure than in Gaimar, and giving him a four-year rule in Denmark before returning to England. The importance of feudal ties is further expanded in the Sigar episode at the expense of the primitive theme of divine kingship.<sup>70</sup> The author of the Lai amplifies a hint in Gaimar to suggest that Haveloc's resemblance to his warlike father strikes Sigar suddenly, in the heat of the fight on the tower, whereas he had not recognised him earlier.<sup>71</sup> The convincing drama of this confrontation relegates the magical signs of kingship to instruments of proof rather than of recognition. Feudal loyalty to his kind "quilltant ama" (743) comes before romantic fantasy or folk tradition. In both versions, a good king is by definition one who consults his barons, while a bad one, such as Edelsi, coves them with a show of force. But Gaimar takes this point even further by presenting Haveloc himself as



something of a simpleton and a source of ironic amusement. His strength is shown only in wrestling, he is sexually ignorant, he misinterprets a dream, and when faced with a crowd of Danish dignitaries, panics and grabs an axe (here the Lai excuses him with "N'est merveille s'il se dota")(863). When he becomes king, Gaimar does not ignore the significance of all this - Haveloc rules "par le conseil de ses barons" (750).

In both versions the tale is that of the exile-and-return theme, of which the climax is the scene in which Haveloc is enthroned as king of Denmark and England, with all the attributes of feudal power and success.<sup>72</sup>

The brevity of the story of Haveloc makes the lines of its development and thematic interests easy to discern. With the three earliest of the romances, Horn, Boeve and Waldef, the material is far more complex and the thematic patterns richer. However, the importance of feudal ethics and ideals is evident and it seems clear that feudalism provides the motivation and unifying concern that was not to be found in the themes of love, courtliness or religion.

The setting of each contains something of the anarchy in which feudalism was rooted, the quarrelsome and petty kingdoms of Waldef, the bleak anarchic past hinted at by Horn, the envy and disorder of the London court in Boeve. Each hero is deprived of his rightful heritage, and the main part of the romance is concerned with his efforts to avenge the wrong done to his family and to regain and hold his lands. The bitter awareness of their exile is a major reason for the lack of enthusiasm with which



they greet the heroines' offers of love,<sup>73</sup> and there is no doubt that the love theme is of secondary importance to that of the land. The motives of the hero's career, the character of the hero himself, and the ethical standards by which both are to be judged, are those of a conscious self-expression of feudal society, and it is the feudalism of twelfth century England. The feeling for the insular locality is strong, as is family feeling, and the thematic pattern moves steadily and consistently from the insecurity of a landless, disinherited youth, to the established dignity of a powerful feudal ruler.

The setting, material and tone of the romances of Hue de Roteland are very different. However, the baronial court plays an important part in Ipomedon, with formalised and heated debates reminiscent of those of the chansons. Ipomedon himself, although motivated by love and the quest for prowess, does establish a dynasty, and the dynastic quarrels of his sons, stirred up by the ambitious baron, Pentalis, are the frame of reference within which the action of Protheselaus takes place.<sup>74</sup> It is interesting to note that, as in the case of the supernatural element, the sequel is more in line with contemporary developments in England than is Ipomedon, and this is perhaps indicative of public demand.

In Fergus the roman courtois element is only slightly modified to include feudal themes, such as the baronial council that Galiene finds so uncontrollable, and the problems of a land ruled by a woman. As we have seen, the sense of locality is unusually strong for an Arthurian romance, so that, in the end, the establishment of Fergus as King of Lothian is as important as his marriage to Galiene.

Gui echoes the feudal concerns of the earlier romances.

Although the hero's career is less structured and his aims less consistent, many of the standards, and the clichés, of the romance are those of feudalism, from the ideal ruler and feudal villain, to the appeal of family loyalty, and the expression of the relationship between God and the hero in feudal terms. The sense of locality is present, but less precise than is usual, and the potential is present for the development of Gui as a national hero, at the hands of the Middle English translator.<sup>75</sup>

If there is one romance more than any other which exemplifies the themes of baronial independence, of feudal custom, and of the struggle to regain a rightful inheritance from an unjust king, it is Fouke Fitzwarin. Yet this feudal element is interspersed with material culled from the exotic romance tradition, and those passages in which feudalism is most important are those which draw directly on the career of the historical Fouke.

This brings us back to the starting point of this investigation into the nature of the historical romance, and to the proposition that feudalism is the shaping influence on these romances. It is here that the romance most closely reflects reality and contemporary concerns, it is within the feudal system with its intricate pattern of relationships, ethics, symbol and ritual, that the Anglo-Norman romance projected the image of its own time on to that of the invented past. By so doing it established a link with that past which was still valid for its own day, providing the history of a locality, the ancestry of a noble line, the exempla of admirable forbears. If this is the major theme of the historical romance, it is consistent with the



tendency to a prosaic realism which we noted as inhibiting the development of the roman courtois and the romance of Christian chivalry. If it is the main theme of Anglo-Norman romance, it raises pertinent questions about the immediate background of the romances, which must be discussed before the character of the historical romance can be fully understood.



CHAPTER THREE:

The Patronage and Background  
Of Anglo-Norman Romance

Our survey of Anglo-Norman romance would be incomplete without some account of its immediate background. It is possible to piece together this background from external and internal evidence, and a considerable amount of work has been done on these lines, most notably by Miss Legge. For the most part, however, the background of each work has been seen in isolation, and it is therefore worth gathering together the facts and theories in order to gain an overall picture of the milieu that produced the romances.

The question of patronage is more extensive and more complex than may at first appear. To assess the influence of Anglo-Norman romance on later literature, it is necessary not only to consider the immediate background to each work, but also to bear in mind that while the romances date from the late twelfth to the mid-thirteenth century, the extant manuscripts are all later than this, dating from the second half of the thirteenth century into the fourteenth.<sup>1</sup> This suggests an increased demand and wider circulation merging with that of the earlier Middle English romances. So the families, contacts and descendants of the original patrons are relevant to any attempt to build up a picture of the conditions that produced and fostered the historical romances.

The end of the twelfth century sees a waning of court patronage of history and romance with the disgrace of Eleanor

and the death of Henry II, and, as we have already suggested, it is at this time that the initiative behind vernacular narrative writing passed from the royal court to the baronial courts. From now on, during the time of the greatest activity among Anglo-Norman romance writers, the names that concern us are those of magnates, not of royalty, of men possessing at times an almost royal power and wealth, but less exclusive than royalty and at the same time less international. For from the end of the twelfth century an increasing insularity is noted amongst the English nobility, even before the fall of Normandy, which was due in part to their refusal to fight there. At the same time, in contrast, the royal court and entourage under John and Henry III became markedly more foreign. One result of this would seem to be the independent expression of the Anglo-Norman romance and the development of characteristics which distinguish it from the romance of France.



Gaimar's "Estorie des Engleis"

Gaimar's Estorie des Engleis has unusually well-documented origins: before the civil war of 1135-54 a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia was lent by Robert of Gloucester to Walter Espec of Helmsley, who in turn lent it to a Lincolnshire noble, Ralph FitzGilbert. His clerk, Geoffrey Gaimar, was commissioned to turn the Latin prose into Anglo-Norman octosyllabics, thus producing the earliest chronicle in the French language.<sup>2</sup> The first part of Gaimar's work, the Estorie des Bretuns, now lost, was almost immediately superceded by the more successful version by Wace, but the surviving four manuscripts of Gaimar's Estorie des Engleis,<sup>3</sup> all more than a century later than the original, and the influence of his work, bear witness to its popularity over two centuries.

Some indication of the paths that such a work would take can be gathered from the little that is known about Ralph FitzGilbert. FitzGilbert was a mesne tenant of the fee of Gaunt in Lincolnshire,<sup>4</sup> and witnessed various legal documents for the Gaunt family, which was connected with the family of Clare (as his own may have been) and was to be foremost in leading the rebellion against John in the eastern counties. The link between the FitzGilberts and Walter Espec is indicative of the close ties between Lincolnshire and the northern counties which were again to be of importance during the disturbances of the thirteenth century. FitzGilbert was also a benefactor of several important religious houses, including Southwick Priory, the resting place of two major Cottonian manuscripts, Otho B xi, and the "Beowulf Codex", Vitellius A xv.<sup>5</sup> These few facts give two likely channels for



the spread and preservation of Gaimar's chronicle. In the Durham manuscript, the earliest, which dates from the early thirteenth century, as in the Lincoln manuscript of a slightly later date, Gaimar's chronicle follows that of Wace, together with Fantosme's Chronicle and a "Prophecies of Merlin". This suggests that during the baronial wars of the thirteenth century under John and Henry III, there was interest enough in the north-eastern region in historical and quasi-historical material to leave two extant examples of such a collection. Dissension in the north was one of the earliest signs of the rebellion against John and was only finally quelled by the battle of Lincoln in 1217 (in which Gilbert de Gant was prominent amongst the rebels) and at this date Lincolnshire counted as part of the north.<sup>6</sup> This could account for both the survival of Gaimar's twelfth century chronicle, and also of Fantosme's, which has a strong regional bias.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, clerical interest would be necessary for the preservation and copying of literature, and here FitzGilbert's connections with religious houses, as well as the Church's involvement in the baronial cause, are relevant.

The other extant manuscripts indicate the progress of the work; Royal 13 A xxi, of the late thirteenth century, still has connections with Lincolnshire, but includes biblical history and the Imago Mundi with Wace and Gaimar, while in Arundel XIV of the fourteenth century the scope of the collection has been enlarged to include a representative selection of history and romance, far removed from the specialist interests suggested by the earlier Durham and Lincoln manuscripts.

Written in one period of baronial war and anarchy, Gaimar's Estorie was recopied and circulated during another, a century later.

Its popularity may be due in part to an awareness of national identity typical of a region which was in effect a borderland; Gaimar was one of the earliest writers to be English rather than Norman, Fantosme despised the foreign invaders of 1173, and later Langtoft was to bring fierce anti-Scottish sentiment to the writing of his chronicle. The names and places that have arisen in connection with Gaimar's work will re-appear when we come to consider later works by the authors who followed him in the writing of history and historical romance.

### The Romance of Horn

By contrast, the Romance of Horn is one of the least well-documented of the Anglo-Norman romances. Most scholars agree to 1170 as an approximate date for the original, although in view of the courtly content some have suggested a date in the early thirteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Taking into consideration the Irish episode, which seems to be Thomas's own addition to his source material, Miss Legge has suggested that the poem could have been written for Henry II while he spent Christmas at Dublin in 1171.<sup>9</sup> She suggests that the Dublin incidents and battles are reminiscent of the defence of Dublin by Miles de Cogan in 1171, and that the poetic form of the romance can be explained by the masculine tastes of Henry's court after the disgrace of Eleanor. The villainous character of the Angevins in the romance<sup>10</sup> is explained as referring to the Young King and his party rather than to the Angevin dynasty.<sup>11</sup>



There do, however, seem to be some drawbacks to this theory. We have much evidence about Henry's character and literary tastes, and none of it suggests a liking for romance.<sup>12</sup> As we know that Horn was not an isolated product of Thomas's pen, but that whoever encouraged him to write this poem commissioned not an occasional work but a trilogy, it seems even less likely to have been the king. But if not directly commissioned by Henry, it could still have been written for the occasion of his Christmas festivities at Dublin, as the Irish material in the poem and the courtliness of its setting would seem to suggest, if it were not for the nature of the romance itself. Henry the Young King had been crowned in 1170 and, if we are to believe the evidence of Fantome, Henry II was understandably touchy at being cast in the role of the Old King.<sup>13</sup> It seems unlikely then that he would be much entertained by a romance that contains so vivid and unflattering a portrait of an ageing king as that of Hunlaf. In general, Horn is not a king's romance; there is too much of a pioneering spirit about this tale of a young man carving a kingdom for himself by battle and knight errantry to appeal to the cynical and cautious administrator who ruled the Angevin Empire in 1170. As for the "masculine" style that Miss Legge detects, neither Eleanor nor the Young King were in disgrace before 1173, so as an explanation for the style of the romance and the anti-Angevin feeling, it is incompatible with dating it by Henry's Irish journey in 1171/2.

But if not for Henry, for whom? The evidence, scanty as it is, can be summarised again: a connection with Ireland, a date after the Dublin defence of 1171, a highly sophisticated courtly



background with an audience appreciative of some of the most subtle and elaborate vernacular writing to be found in England before the fourteenth century, and a patron who would have had for some time the services of a clerkly author, possibly of French extraction,<sup>14</sup> and well versed in contemporary literature.

There are three possible patrons to fit this evidence: William Longespee, Earl of Salisbury, died 1226; Richard de Clare, 'Strongbow', died 1176; and William Marshal, died 1216.

William Longespee was the natural son of Henry II and a notable figure throughout his reign and the reigns of his sons. He is already given the benefit of a doubtful literary patronage by critics who identify him with the 'Cunte Guillaume' to whom Marie de France dedicated her fables.<sup>15</sup> It should perhaps be noted that the Douce Manuscript of Horn also includes Marie's Fables.<sup>16</sup> Also of interest is a passage in Dugdale noted by Hibbard, about the unusual wooing of Longespee's wife, a romantic tale which seems similar to part of the plot of Horn.<sup>17</sup> Longespee would provide the courtly background necessary for such a romance, and his connections with the royal court are sufficient to ensure that any clerk in his employ would be well travelled and well acquainted with courtly literature. However, his connections with Ireland are slight and somewhat late for our purpose, being merely that he led the Irish expedition for John in 1210-12,<sup>18</sup> although it should be remembered that some critics have dated Horn as late as this.

The question of dating seems rather to favour Richard de Clare -

"kil esteit un quens valant,  
Curtois, larges e despendant" 19

The connections of Strongbow with Ireland are well known and date from his arrival in 1170 until his death in 1176.<sup>20</sup> His conquest of Ireland and marriage to the heiress of Leinster would give point to Thomas's introduction of the Irish part of his story, including the wars and an Irish princess.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, by 1171 it was obvious that Strongbow could not rely on very wholehearted support for his ambitions from Henry II, who passed him over in the winter of that year in favour of de Lacy, and it may be possible to see in the somewhat strained relationship that led to Strongbow staying in Kildare while the king held court in Dublin,<sup>22</sup> a more convincing reason for the anti-Angevin tone in Horn. The religious aspect of Strongbow's Irish expedition is also relevant. The unorthodox behaviour of the Irish clergy was the cause of some indignation both in England and in Rome, and the Norman colonisation of Ireland was undertaken with the Pope's blessing;<sup>23</sup> this could partly account for the crusading fervour of Horn. The Viking names and the Scandinavian 'Saracens' of the romance may owe something to the presence of the superficially Christianised 'Ostmen' of the east coast towns.<sup>24</sup> All this is consistent with a date between 1170 and 1173. If we take the evidence up to the death of Strongbow in 1176, this includes his support of Henry during the Young King's rebellion - in which Strongbow served the Old King in Normandy,<sup>25</sup> defending his lands against the Young King's party as Horn defended Hunlaf's against the 'Angevins' - Miss Legge's theory as to their identity is more convincing in this context. Strongbow returned to Ireland restored to the king's full favour, after the rebellion, and



died there in 1176.

If Strongbow could have been the patron, what clue does this give to Thomas himself? The army with which Strongbow and his associates conquered Ireland was a Norman-Welsh one,<sup>26</sup> led by Marcher lords, Strongbow himself being Earl of Pembroke and Striguil (Chepstow), so that even if Thomas was himself of French origin, he would move in the circles that produced Walter Map, Giraldus Cambrensis,<sup>27</sup> and Hue de Rotelande who, writing in Monmouth, had an urbane and informed view of current fashions, and whose patron was Strongbow's first cousin.<sup>28</sup>

Given such a background, Thomas's contacts would have been such as to give both knowledge of courtly literature through the aristocratic interests of his patrons, and of traditional literature. Constance Bullock-Davies puts forward a convincing argument as to the contribution of household latimers in the Welsh Marches from the time of the Conquest, to the spread of Celtic material into French literature.<sup>29</sup> She points out the similarity of the relationship between the Norman and native culture in Wales and Ireland, and uses the Clares as one example of a family that would be certain to employ such a latimer. Indeed, the existence of Strongbow's 'demaine latimer' is known from the Song of Dermot and the Earl.<sup>30</sup> It is therefore possible to envisage Thomas as a clerk attached to the de Clares, in touch with the mixed cultures of first Norman-Welsh and then Norman-Irish society,<sup>31</sup> in a household which included at least one professional translator.

The Song of Dermot and the Earl which claims to owe much of its material to King Dermot's latimer, Maurice Regan, has



some similarities to Horn<sup>32</sup> and is considered by its editor to be a copy of 1200-25, based on an original written shortly after Strongbow's death, possibly for his daughter, later to marry William Marshal.<sup>33</sup> Further Irish interest in romance material can be seen in the work of Geoffrey of Waterford,<sup>34</sup> a thirteenth century Dominican who knew Greek, Latin, Arabic and French, had travelled in the East and lived in France, and translated into French verse several works including the Trojan War of Dares, and the Secretum Secretorum of "Aristotle". His career is evidence of Dominican interest in this type of literature, as well as of the patronage of a "noble bers prouz et sages",<sup>35</sup> and he has been tentatively linked with the authorship of Dermot. But Geoffrey belongs to the literary history of Ireland in a way that Horn does not. Its connection with Ireland, like that of the de Clares, is a temporary part of a much larger whole.

For if the origin of Horn can be traced to the household of Richard de Clare, then it is his family connections in England rather than his political links with Ireland that would give this romance its influence among Anglo-Norman romances. In 1161 Becket's biographer, William FitzStephen, remarked on the strength of Roger de Clare's position among the barons:- "Illi autem comiti de Clara fere omnes nobilis Angliae propinquitate adhaerebant".<sup>36</sup> The family tree of the Clares on the next page shows that this is no exaggeration, and that these relationships form a significant pattern when compared with what we know of the shape of early medieval patronage. But there are also wider political and administrative connections to be





taken into account. For example, in November 1189 Richard I spent three days at Bury St. Edmunds,<sup>37</sup> dealing with ordinary administrative matters, accompanied by several barons including Roger Bigod, probable patron of Waldef,<sup>38</sup> William d'Albini, soon to be restored to his family lands, an event which could have occasioned Boeve de Haumtone<sup>39</sup> and Richard de Clare, Earl of Hertford, cousin of Strongbow and close associate of William Marshal. The same party then moved on to Westminster where it was joined by both William Marshals, and Roger Bigod was created Earl of Norfolk.<sup>40</sup> Again, at the end of Richard's reign, in 1197, we find William d'Albini's son, William, IV, with King Richard in France together with, amongst others, Richard de Clare, William Marshal and William de Warenne.<sup>41</sup> This gives some indication of the everyday connexions between these families in the course of their normal administrative duties; the civil war of John's reign provides evidence of a more dramatic nature,<sup>42</sup> and the Clares and the Bigods were at the forefront of baronial opposition until the end of the reign of Edward I.

Thus the de Clare family supplies opportunity in plenty for the Romance of Horn to become widespread and influential. The romance is extant in five manuscripts in which the most recent editor finds evidence of a further four, giving at least nine Anglo-Norman copies, some later than the fourteenth century.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, all the extant manuscripts are careful copies, which seems to suggest both an unusual respect for the original and the presence of highly trained scribes. The level of culture that lies behind the original is amply illustrated in the poem itself, and it must be remembered that Horn is only one of at



least two, and probably three, related romances, which argues more than a casual literary interest on the part of Horn's patrons. Finally, a glance at a list of known thirteenth century patrons of romance shows how conspicuous by their absence are the family of de Clare, surely one of the most likely to invest in the fashion of historical romance, which reflected honour on its patron.

The attribution of the Romance of Horn to the household of Strongbow would therefore seem to be reasonable, as far as the extremely fragmentary evidence is concerned. If, however, a date later than the death of Strongbow is preferred for the original version, it is to be remembered that his wife Eva, Countess of Ireland and daughter of King Dermot, was living until about 1189, the year in which her daughter and sole heir married William Marshal.<sup>44</sup> William Marshal thus acquired an interest in Ireland, although he did not visit it until 1207.<sup>45</sup> But with the evidence as it stands at present, his father-in-law remains a more likely candidate, although William and his wife could well have been instrumental in the spread of the romance.

### The Romances of Hue de Roteland

Ipomedon and Protheselaus, the romances of Hue de Roteland, can be dated by internal evidence to around 1180<sup>46</sup> and Hue reveals the identity of his patron in Protheselaus<sup>47</sup> - Gilbert Fitz-Baderon, lord of Monmouth, and owner, according to Hue, of a library of French and Latin books. The lords of Monmouth do not

seem to have been particularly prominent before the time of Gilbert's son, John,<sup>48</sup> and at first sight his patronage of so well-read and sophisticated a writer as Hue seems unlikely, especially as his writing indicates an equally sophisticated audience. Gilbert's connexions may offer some explanation. His mother was Rohaise de Clare, sister of Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke,<sup>49</sup> so Gilbert was first cousin to Richard "Strongbow". But more concrete than this, perhaps, is the position of Monmouth Castle itself. Situated at the head of the River Wye, it is some fifteen miles upstream from Chepstow - the medieval Striguil from which the Earls of Pembroke derived their honour<sup>50</sup> - and about ten miles from Tintern Abbey which benefited much from Clare patronage. Gilbert was married to Bertha de Braose, sister to the William de Braose whose ruin at the hands of King John was one of the immediate causes of the baronial revolt, and was also connected with William Marshal in the latter's role as Earl of Pembroke. Despite the treatment of his Braose cousins at the hands of King John, the wardship of Gilbert's son and heir, John, passed from William de Braose to the king, and John of Monmouth became one of King John's most loyal supporters, and in 1216 one of the executors of his will.<sup>51</sup>

Thus the background of his patron shows that Hue de Roteland was not cut off from the mainstream of Anglo-Norman courtly society, as indeed is proven by his wide knowledge of contemporary literature and urbanity of attitude. The sophistication of his courtly satire suggests a high cultural standard at the castle of Monmouth, which in its turn is a valuable indication of the standards at the undocumented courts of the Earls of Pembroke and Striguil.



Each of Hue's romances survives in an almost complete thirteenth century manuscript,<sup>52</sup> and both appear in the fourteenth century manuscript produced with omissions and modernisations by Johan de Dorkingge.<sup>53</sup> Understandably enough, Ipomedon seems to have had the more lasting popularity, and there are three Middle English versions extant,<sup>54</sup> and a "gesta cuiusdam militis qui vocatur ypomedon" mentioned in the catalogue of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury.<sup>55</sup>

#### Boeve de Haumtone

The Anglo-Norman Boeve survives in two independent thirteenth century fragments with related versions in Norse, Welsh and Middle English.<sup>56</sup> Various catalogue entries<sup>57</sup> indicate the existence of lost copies of the romance in England, whether in Anglo-Norman or English, and its influence and success are indisputable.

The obvious connection of the Anglo-Norman version of the romance with Arundel Castle has conveniently limited the possibilities of patrons. Miss Legge, dating the poem 1154-76, suggests that the patron was William d'Albini, first Earl of Arundel, who came to prominence through his marriage with Adeliza of Louvain, widow of Henry I.<sup>58</sup> J. M. Martin<sup>59</sup> suggests a more likely candidate to be his son, William II, whose lands were retained by Henry II, and who did not come into his inheritance until 1190,<sup>60</sup> and for whom there would therefore be a special significance in the career of Boeve. Miss Martin's argument is further strengthened by the traces of Horn to be found



in Boeve, as the dates suggested by Miss Legge would render such influence very unlikely. The earlier dating would in fact place Boeve at the very beginning of the development of Anglo-Norman romance, which seems unlikely in view of the derivative "manufactured" nature of the romance as we have it.

In any event, the history of the earls of Arundel is a record of unusually consistent loyalty to the crown. The first Earl was instrumental in arranging the Treaty of Winchester in 1153, married the widow of Henry I, was confirmed in his earldom by Henry II, and supported the king during the rebellion of 1173.<sup>61</sup> As described above, the title did not come to his son until 1190 and he only lived to enjoy it for three years, during which time he was one of Richard's chief administrators and in 1193 was one of the four trustees appointed to organise the gathering of the king's ransom.<sup>62</sup> He married the widow of Roger de Clare, and his son William IV, one of the six most powerful barons in the kingdom,<sup>63</sup> was thus half-brother to Richard de Clare. Unlike his Hertford relatives, however, he remained loyal to John, only wavering after the fall of London in 1216.<sup>64</sup> (It should perhaps be clearly stated, as is too rarely the case, that he is not to be confused with William d'Albini of Belvoir, a prominent rebel only distantly related to the Earls of Arundel).<sup>65</sup> His son and heir survived him by only three years, and the title died out with the death of his second son in 1243.<sup>66</sup>

Various details in the romance are consistent with a date at the end of the twelfth century. Boeve's father marries a daughter of the King of Scots, and a glance at the family tree on page 158 shows how common an occurrence this was among the

English baronage of the time. The villainous character of the Emperor indicates the likely attitude towards Henry VI, Richard's opponent in Europe, the rival of the Normans in Sicily, and by 1193 Richard's prison warder. The typical concern with regaining lands and establishing a family does seem to be more satisfactorily explained by attributing the patronage to William II than to his father, and it may be significant that Boeve is thwarted not so much by the king, as by the other barons at the London court.

The later development of the romance is also of interest here, as the Middle English version seems to have been expanded to bring in contemporary political references: a weak king, corrupt Roman clergy, a treacherous Earl of Cornwall, and a London uprising. J. M. Martin has pointed out that all this is evocative of the clash between Henry III and Simon de Montfort,<sup>67</sup> and that this helps to date the original English version, of which the extant manuscripts are of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

It is possible to reconstruct the development of the Boeve story in both languages thus: an original Anglo-Norman version put together from various romance elements for William d'Albini, probably between 1190-3; the lost Anglo-Norman intermediaries which gave the two extant fragments by the middle of the thirteenth century; the original Middle English version, possibly written for English-speaking supporters of Simon de Montfort about 1260; and the extant Middle English versions, six out of a minimum total of twelve, proof of the popularity of the romance from the fourteenth century onwards. As far as the patronage and type of audience is concerned, we know least about that behind the extant Anglo-Norman versions of the thirteenth century. These show



signs of degeneration suggestive of popularisation,<sup>68</sup> and it seems possible that the romance may have passed quickly from Albini possession to general consumption among the baronial class, perhaps there acquiring some of the political overtones so marked in the later versions. This would give a romance of which the original was recopied several times into Anglo-Norman - perhaps during the troubles of the reign of John - for a wider baronial audience, and was still relevant and interesting enough to be recopied in two languages through the thirteenth century for an ever increasing audience, becoming one of the most popular romances, not only of the fourteenth, but also of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. At least part of this survival and popularity would seem to be due to the unchanging state of baronial and urban discontent during the first century of its existence.

### Waldef

Two suggestions as to the patrons of Waldef have been put forward, both consistent with the Norfolk interests of the romance.<sup>69</sup> Miss Legge attributes the patronage to the Bigod earls of Norfolk, and the dating of the poem's language to the turn of the twelfth century points to Roger Bigod, the second earl, as the patron.<sup>70</sup> As we have already seen, this Roger was in the company of several possible literary patrons during the reign of Richard, that is at about the time Waldef was written. Later he was among the ringleaders of the revolt against John,



and was one of the "Twenty-five" of Magna Carta, as was his son Hugh, husband of William Marshal's daughter, Maud. In the reign of Henry III the Bigods were again in the forefront of rebellion<sup>71</sup> and with the Clares they continued to be a trouble to the crown until Edward I managed to extinguish the earldom.<sup>72</sup> The Bigods and Clares shared other ties: they held neighbouring lands in Suffolk, and Jocelyn de Brakelond relates a dispute in 1188 as to which family should have the honour of carrying the standard of St. Edmund.<sup>73</sup> They were neighbours in the north-east as well, the Bigods having lands in Yorkshire and the Clares in Lincolnshire, and the Bigods were also lords of the liberty of Carlow, County Wexford.<sup>74</sup> All this indicates the possible routes for the circulation of romance fashion and material within baronial society, and furthermore is consistent with the north-eastern interest in chronicle history during the troubled thirteenth century that we have discussed with reference to the manuscripts of Gaimar's chronicle. There is only one manuscript of Waldef, Phillips 8345, of the late thirteenth century, which also includes Gui de Warewic.<sup>75</sup> The romance does not seem to have been popular, and no other record remains of it in Anglo-Norman, although it once had a Middle English version, now represented by the fifteenth century Latin translation.

There are obvious attractions to the attribution of Waldef to the Bigods, but Mr. Anderson has put forward the suggestion, equally convincing in view of the importance of Attleborough in the romance, that the patrons were the Mortemers of Attleborough, and that the author of the romance was Denis Pyramus.<sup>76</sup> The family of Mortemer held their fief under the Earls Warenne,<sup>77</sup> and although considerably less powerful than the Bigods, moved in much the

same circles. So William Mortemer, like Roger Bigod, joined the Scots in the rebellion of 1174.<sup>78</sup> His son, Robert, was co-defender of a plea in Norfolk with the Earl of Arundel in 1180,<sup>79</sup> and in 1194 his land, which had been confiscated for his having participated in an unlicensed tournament, was restored by Richard I, pledges having been given by Roger Bigod and William de Warenne, amongst others.<sup>80</sup> Again like the Bigods, but unlike Earl Warenne, Robert Mortemer was actively opposed to King John, for which reason his lands were again forfeit, but he was re-seized in 1217.<sup>81</sup>

At the present state of work on the romance of Waldef it is impossible to choose between these two theories, but in either case the milieu from which the romance comes is, like the work itself, at once strongly localised and part of wider national movements.

### Fergus

Although it is only to be found in continental manuscripts, there is little doubt as to the insular nature of Fergus, the only Arthurian romance to come from the Anglo-Norman baronage.<sup>82</sup> In view of its content and polished narrative, it is not out of place in the two manuscript collections in which it is found: the Von Aumale of the thirteenth century, with the works of Chretien and other romances,<sup>83</sup> and the fourteenth century BN ff.1553, a collection of 52 pieces in French, including romance, saints' lives and lyrics.<sup>84</sup>

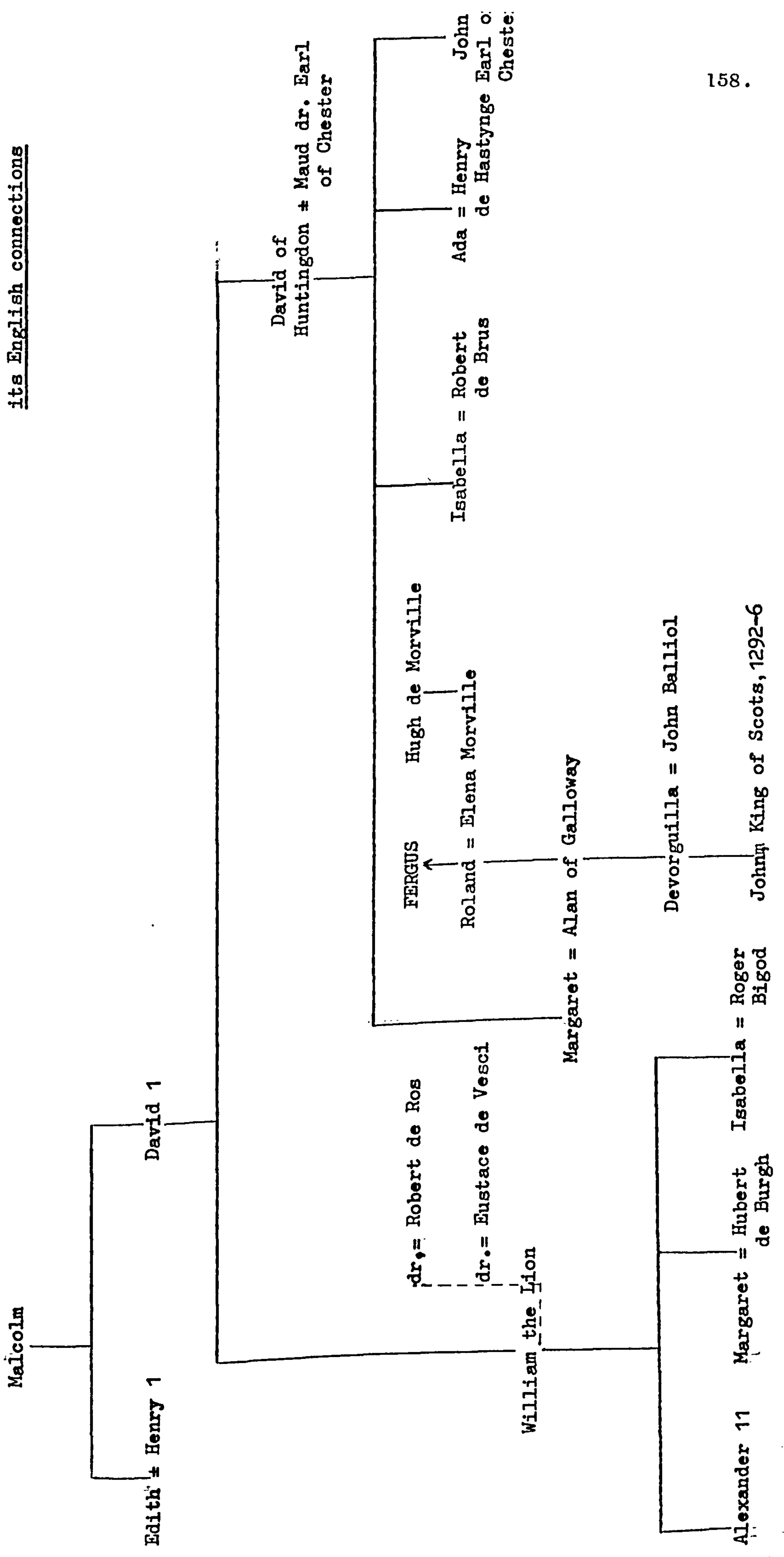
The evidence of the manuscripts is a warning against



locality which plays so important a part in it, and the career of its probable patron, Alan of Galloway, confirms this. Miss Legge's idea<sup>85</sup> that Fergus was written for Alan's marriage in 1209 to Margaret, daughter of Earl David of Huntingdon, by a certain "William the Clerk", possibly from St. Mary's Priory at Traill, is an attractive one. The author shows much detailed local knowledge, both of topography and history,<sup>86</sup> but he is also well read and probably well travelled, a mixture likely enough if he was in the employ of Alan. As can be seen from the family tree on the following page, Alan of Galloway's marriage not only allied him with the royal house of Scotland, but also with many important English families, especially those of the northern counties. He himself was the great-grandson of the historic Fergus, Lord of Galloway at the time of David I.<sup>87</sup> From the time of Fergus, Galloway had been the scene of continual warfare and family feud - echoes of which can be found in The Owl and the Nightingale and Beroul's Tristan<sup>88</sup> - until Alan succeeded his father Roland in 1200. Alan seems to have played as active a part in English affairs as he did in Scottish; as Constable of Scotland he was one of King John's more loyal supporters, helping him in Ireland in 1212, and he was one of the King's witnesses to Magna Carta.<sup>89</sup> There would be no lack of opportunity either for the author of Fergus to acquaint himself with current literature, or for his romance to become known. M. Schlauch, troubled by the French rather than the Anglo-Norman dialect of the author,<sup>90</sup> suggests that the meeting between Louis of France and the King of Scotland and his nobles in 1216 may have been the opportunity for Alan to contact a French clerk.<sup>91</sup> This does



The Scottish Royal House and its English connections



not seem very convincing in view of the suitability of the romance itself for the marriage of 1209. Moreover, there is no contemporary reference to prove that Alan of Galloway was with King Alexander in Kent and in view of his loyalty to the English crown both before and after this date there seems no reason to assume that he was.

In all, it appears that Alan did not easily wax indignant about the abuses of royal power, and it may be possible to see this reflected in the more generalised and detached political content in Fergus and even in its Arthurian setting.<sup>92</sup> As an Arthurian romance its connexion with Galloway is very appropriate. Called by William of Malmesbury "the kingdom of the greatest Gawaine", Galloway had long been a romantic country in popular imagination, in some cases almost synonymous with the otherworld.<sup>93</sup> Something of this imaginative quality seems to have inspired the author of some lines on Alan himself,<sup>94</sup> which hardly seem justified in their enthusiasm by the facts of his life as we know them:

"Francia Pipinis, Brabantia milite signi  
Anglia Ricardo, Galwidia gaudet Alano" 95

### Gui de Warewic

Even the most popular romance has to start somewhere, and Gui de Warewic seems to have originated as a flattering tribute to Thomas de Newburgh, Earl of Warwick. In him the Earls of Warwick were united with the d'Oilli family, descendants of the prototype for Gui, and patrons of Oseney Abbey from whence the

author may have come.<sup>96</sup> Thomas of Warwick was created Earl in 1233 and died in 1242, leaving no direct heirs, and the title passed to the Beauchamps.<sup>97</sup> It is also worth looking to the female side for possible patronage: Thomas married in 1235 Ela, who was the daughter of William Longespee of Salisbury and survived two husbands to die in 1297. Her second husband was Philip Basset, justiciar and firm ally of Henry III against the barons. She seems to have been a lifelong benefactress of Oseney Abbey and was buried there.<sup>98</sup> We have already mentioned the literary interests of her parents, but there is another connection with literature in the thirteenth century. Ela's eldest brother, William Longespee II, was a famous crusader who died a martyr's death at Mansourah in 1250. As such, he is the hero of a poem that has been described as "the well-known Anglo-Norman poem on the history of William Longespee",<sup>99</sup> but in fact unedited since 1858<sup>100</sup> and not mentioned by either Vising or Legge in their surveys of Anglo-Norman writing. It survives in one fourteenth century manuscript, Cotton Julius A.V., where it is next to Langtoft's chronicle, which may be the reason for Bentley's attribution of it to that chronicler. The catalogue of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury bears witness to a lost copy,<sup>101</sup> as does the will of Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.<sup>102</sup> It is a short poem of some 400 lines in all, written in alexandrine laisses, and it deserves better than the oblivion into which it has fallen. It combines the style of a crusading saga with patriotic embellishments and the elements of a saint's life. The author likens his hero to Roland and there are echoes of the Chanson in his style and the story he tells of:



.....le hardi chivaler, le meilur combatant  
 Qe pur la krestiente, puis le temps Rolant,  
 Ne combati en armes chivaler vaillant.

p.339

The hero, smarting under the gibes of his treacherous allies - in this case the French, who are without exception perfidious and cowardly and all go to Hell<sup>103</sup> - makes a reckless attack against overwhelming Saracen forces and stubbornly faces death in the traditional "narrow place" of the epic.<sup>104</sup> In a series of increasingly hopeless single combats his main support comes from a fighting priest - a Templar. Finally, cut to pieces, they resign their souls to God and go to heaven:

L'alme en port seint Michel enepays, chauntant,  
 Ou serra en glorie od Jhesu tout-puisant.

p.337

Longespee seems to have been generally regarded as a martyr; Matthew Paris reports miracles at his tomb, and his mother is said to have had a vision of her son entering heaven the night before his death - and a full year before the news of it reached England.<sup>105</sup>

There is little internal evidence to date the poem except perhaps for the heroism of the Templars which is presented without comment, thus suggesting a date well before the suppression of the order in 1312. The author may well have been a clerk attached either to one of the Salisbury churches - Ela, Countess of Salisbury was Abbess of Lacock,<sup>106</sup> and her sons Nicholas and Richard respectively Bishop and Canon of Salisbury - or to Oseney Abbey, where he would come under the patronage of his hero's sister, and would also be able to consult the Abbey's manuscript of the Chanson de Roland.

Whether or not Gui de Warewic and Guillaume Longespee had a

common patron, they do share similar themes, especially in the portrayal of the crusading hero. But it was Gui which proved popular, and it is worth noting that while the popularity of the story from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries is indisputable,<sup>107</sup> only five Middle English manuscripts survive as against the thirteen in Anglo-Norman dating from the mid-thirteenth century to the mid-fourteenth.<sup>108</sup> This would seem to strengthen the evidence already gathered from Boeve for the popularisation of these romances first into Anglo-Norman and then into Middle English. The fragmentary evidence of lost copies of Gui confirms the "numerous tribe" that Ewert inferred from the state of the extant manuscripts - at least seven more copies, probably all in Anglo-Norman.<sup>109</sup>

But although the romance of Guy of Warwick became common property, it by no means lost its appeal for the descendants of its original patrons, and the legend of Guy was adopted with enthusiasm by the Earls of Warwick throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. So Guy became a family name,<sup>110</sup> in the late fourteenth century Thomas of Warwick added "Guy's Tower" to Warwick Castle,<sup>111</sup> and the hero's sword figures in family wills.<sup>112</sup>

### Fouke Fitzwarin

Fouke Fitzwarin is the most closely biographical of all the Anglo-Norman romances and thus most easily traced to its origin. The romance tells the story, considerably embellished, of the Fitzwarin family, and especially of the early life of



Fouke III and his struggle to regain his inheritance from King John. The outline of the action is reasonably accurate; the real Fouke, a minor Shropshire baron, did rebel against John in 1201, becoming a kind of baronial Robin Hood<sup>113</sup> until he finally made peace with the king in 1217. After this point the romance, which shows the usual concern for acquiring lands and a family, hurries straight to Fouke's exemplary death. In so doing it omits some of the most interesting events in his later life, which if less colourful, were even more revealing of the character of the man. For example, in 1245, when he would have been about seventy, an assembly of nobles at Dunstable sent Fouke to London on behalf of the realm to give the Papal Nuncio notice to quit. According to Eyton, Fouke did so "in peremptory mode", and the Nuncio left.<sup>114</sup> One would like to have had his lively biographer's version of that scene. Fouke died in 1256, to be succeeded by his son Fouke IV,<sup>5</sup> who is generally accepted to have commissioned the original version of the poem about his father's deeds, partly it seems to emphasise Fouke's rights to his lands, and the good favour in which he eventually stood with the crown.<sup>115</sup> The death of Fouke IV in 1264, drowned in the river at Lewes while fighting with the royalist forces, leaving his son a minor,<sup>116</sup> gives the final date likely for the original version. Internal evidence suggests that the author was a monk of Alderbury, a foundation of Fouke II.<sup>117</sup>

The original octosyllabic romance is lost, but a prose version, through which the couplets often protrude, survives in Royal C XII, a trilingual manuscript of the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>118</sup> Leland gives an account of a Middle English version, since lost, which was apparently in alliterative verse.<sup>119</sup>



The simplicity of the relationship between the three versions may well be deceptive. Eyton chastises the author of the romance for his inaccuracies, but Painter points out that the mistakes are such as to suggest that the romance was written for popular consumption and not for the Fitzwarin family at all, and sees it as typical of "the nature and accuracy" of popular historical tradition in the late thirteenth century.<sup>120</sup> Despite this, the attribution of the origin of the romance to Fouke IV remains convincing, but it may well be that in the romance as it survives in the Royal Manuscript we have an example of the intermediate stage in the development from Anglo-Norman to Middle English of which we have already found traces in Boeve and Gui. If so, this would give not the normally assumed pattern of "courtly" Anglo-Norman translated into "popular" Middle English, but a stage in which the original, accurate version commissioned by the patron is recopied and refurbished for more general tastes, resulting in Anglo-Norman versions such as those extant of Boeve and Fouke Fitzwarin. The translation into Middle English, therefore, does not necessarily indicate a more "popular" audience.

Whatever the later fortunes of the romance, its origin remains inseparable from the Fitzwarin family, and here we are on new ground. The Fitzwarins were not among the leaders of baronial society as were most of the other patrons we have discussed. Their lands and interests were more restricted and while later members of the family may have known the Marshal heirs,<sup>121</sup> there is otherwise little evidence to connect the author of Fouke Fitzwarin or his patrons with the literary circles of the time.<sup>122</sup> This may well be due to lack of evidence, but it may also indicate

that by the time this romance came to be written - some fifty years after the bulk of Anglo-Norman romance - the interest in such literature had spread to the smaller provincial households from the main baronial courts, a movement which would not be inconsistent with the appearance of Middle English romance from about the same date.

This survey of the likely patrons of the Anglo-Norman romances reveals several points of importance to the understanding of the romances themselves. The first is the social level for which they were originally intended; the courtly quality and feudal interests of the romances are fully consistent with baronial patronage, as is their technical quality.<sup>123</sup> An even more striking feature is the extent to which these baronial patrons are connected with each other by family and political ties, and this offers a concrete explanation for the close interrelation amongst the romances. It is not, of course, necessary to attribute a very active role to the barons themselves, although the kind of expeditions described in the Itinerary of Richard I might well provide a demand for this type of entertainment; however, the less well reported habits and movements

of their female relatives are probably far more significant. But such men would be accompanied across country, and indeed across Europe, by members of their households, including clerks. Herein, it seems, lies the key to the development of Anglo-Norman romance - that despite the strong local and family interest in the material, the romances are not regional as are those in Middle English, and no Anglo-Norman romance, whether originating in the Welsh Marches or the lowlands of Scotland, can be considered altogether in isolation.

However, two areas do seem to have been particularly important, namely the West Midlands and Welsh Marches - including the lands of the earls of Pembroke, Gloucester and Warwick, and those of the Fitzwarin and Fitz-Baderon families - and the north-east, the region which produced Gaimar, Waldef and Fantosme, and had close ties with Scotland. Both regions were independent, potentially rebellious, and under the constant threat of war, which may in part explain why it is the Middle English romances of these regions that most resemble the Anglo-Norman romances. But it would be a mistake to see the Anglo-Norman romance as the expression of baronial opposition, although it may be one of confidence. Men's support for either side in the political controversies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was extremely flexible; what is constant is the concern expressed on both sides for the issues at stake, and it is these issues that make themselves felt in the romances. The more personal motivation of the "ancestral romance", with its local and family interests, exists side by side with these more general and abstract concerns.<sup>124</sup>



If the patronage of Anglo-Norman romance is thus to be traced to a restricted baronial circle, and if romance itself is an expression of feudal society, then the differences in feudalism and the position of the baronage in France and England is relevant to the question of the differences between French and Anglo-Norman romance.

The reign of Henry II saw the centralisation of royal authority especially in England, an authority which was administered in the main by professional men loyal to the king and independent of baronial interests. This centralised system began to falter with the ambition of the Young King, but proved stronger than the 1174 rebellion. In France, meanwhile, Philip Augustus followed the Angevin's example; the French barony lost some of its power to the king and his civil servants, and the central power of the crown increased. The tone of French courtly romance from this date becomes increasingly idealised and nostalgic:

Mais or est morte en nostre sage,  
Pas ne regnent li seigneurage

127

However, while the French crown thus consolidated its position, the situation in England changed drastically with the accession of Richard. The king's prolonged absence and dependence on English support gave power back to the barons, who for the most part stayed loyal.<sup>128</sup> The accession of John brought little change in this balance - centralised royal power was not successfully established, and a good percentage of the baronage was in revolt by the end of the reign, while the fact that John kept his throne at all was due to the support of those barons loyal to him. In the early years of the reign of Henry III the country was

ruled by a baronial council which did much to identify royal and baronial interests, but when Henry came to power and tried to put forward his own men the troubles of the previous reign started again, to culminate in the de Montfort rebellion. It was Edward I who solved the immediate problem by absorbing the main baronial families into the royal circle.<sup>129</sup>

It is significant that most Anglo-Norman romance dates from the period of resurgent baronial power between the accession of Richard I and the de Montfort rebellion. The only romances written during the reign of Henry II - Horn, Ipomedon and Protheselaus - were written on the edges of royal power; the Marcher lords did not find Henry's rule too oppressive.

Moreover, the central issues of the time seem to be reflected in the romances, as do some of the events. The struggle for power between the crown and the baronage was concerned with, and expressed itself in the terms of feudal law, administration and justice; and this is echoed in the romances, with their themes of family strife, feudal tradition, the true nature of kingship, the ideal of consultation, and a growing awareness of national identity. Even their very subject matter finds its parallel in the idealisation by the baronial party of a pre-Conquest past.<sup>130</sup> The influence of ecclesiastical ideas, already noticeable in the romances and to become more so in the Middle English period, is also a reflection of the growing alliance between the Church and the barons in the thirteenth century.<sup>131</sup>

As with all romance, the relationship between life and literature is a complex and often close one, and in this respect it is interesting to note that a recent historical study claims

a place for literature among the political factors of the time:

To many John must have seemed an enemy, not because he broke what they took to be law, but because, in their eyes, he had long ceased to exercise a tolerable and honourable lordship judged by the standards of contemporary literary images. 132

The interchange between fact and fiction, between the real and the ideal, provides another reason for examining the people behind the authors, the audiences on whose behalf they mirrored the changing image of the times. The whole question of the contribution of lay aristocratic patronage to medieval literature in England needs much more investigation before that of its influence on romance can be set in context. Other forms, such as the political songs,<sup>133</sup> or the religious prose of Henry of Lancaster,<sup>134</sup> as well as indications of lost pieces like the rhymes of "Rāndolph Earl of Chester",<sup>135</sup> suggest possible points of comparison with the patronage of the historical romance.

However, the conditions outlined briefly here help to explain both the cohesion and the longevity of Anglo-Norman romance. They also show that to define the period of Anglo-Norman romance by the dating of the originals and to ignore the later copies is misleading; the Middle English period inherited not the dusty remains of an earlier age, but a widespread, increasingly popular tradition, containing much that was as relevant in 1300 as it had been in 1200.



CHAPTER FOURConclusion: The Anglo-Norman Historical Romance

It has been the purpose of the first part of this thesis to examine the Anglo-Norman historical romance, establishing its general characteristics and placing it in its cultural background. This is the first step towards assessing the relationship, if any, that exists between this romance and that written in Middle English.

The character and development of this romance can only be understood with reference to its roots in the court culture of the period. Romance, more than any other literary genre of the time, has an especially close relationship with the life of the society that produces it. It mirrors that society, airs its grievances, prejudices and ideals, reflects - and shapes - its opinions, and may provide the opportunity for thinly disguised personal and political allusion. If this is true of romance as a whole, it is especially so of the kind of romance with which we are concerned - that which shapes history and pseudo-history into romance, re-interpreting the past in the light of the present, and providing tangible and respectable ancestry for families or institutions. Our account of the development of this type of romance has therefore included some account of the society that produced it. At the same time it must be noted that the conditions that thus produce romance are not necessarily the same for other literary forms. For example, the conclusion that Anglo-Norman romance differs in several respects from the romance of France does not mean that the same automatically applies to Anglo-Norman literature as a whole; the lyric, drama, and religious literature follow their own internal rules of development.

We have seen that the Anglo-Norman romances originate from a period ranging from the last years of the reign of Henry II to the middle of the thirteenth century, and appear to represent a literary movement away from the royal court to the baronial courts. In literary terms this movement combines an imitation of Wace with a rejection of much of the material and attitude current in courtly literature as represented by the Tristan of Thomas; in social terms it seems to be a sign of renewed baronial confidence and insular feeling.

There is evidence enough to show that the original patronage of these romances was confined to a small, closely-knit and influential portion of baronial society, although there are signs that by the end of the period interest in this type of literature was beginning to widen. The circulation of these romances may have been restricted initially, but the restriction was a social, not a geographical one; the differences between Middle English dialects as opposed to an almost standard Anglo-Norman emphasise that Anglo-Norman literature, unlike Middle English, is not regional.

The close ties that existed between the various patrons give the "definite and restricted circle" that has been seen as typical of medieval patronage,<sup>1</sup> and this is reflected in the equally close relationship discernible amongst the romances themselves. The task of establishing the relationships between the various Anglo-Norman romances is a difficult one. On the one hand some resemblances are such commonplaces that they cannot be taken as proof that one author knew the work of another, or even that they used the same sources. But while some similarities are

insignificant, it should be admitted that the fragmentary nature of the material left to us must mean that other cases of allusion or quotation go unnoticed. For example, the Tristan of Thomas is clearly very influential; time and again allusions and quotations from it appear in the other romances, yet we can only recognise those that refer to the extant fragments. Likewise we know that we are without Thomas's poem of Aaluf, and possibly Guilmot's on Hadermod, so our estimate of the influence of the Horn-saga may be inadequate.<sup>2</sup> We are also without the sequel to Protheselaus if it ever existed, the full version of Boeve, and the octosyllabic Fouke Fitzwarin. Among other possible lost romances is the Anglo-Norman version of a Lancelot romance taken to Germany by Hugh de Morville, where it became the source for Ulrich von Zatzikhoven's Lanzelet.<sup>3</sup> In view of these gaps in our information - and the many more unrecognised ones - it is clear that our evidence as to the influence of these romances upon each other is incomplete and that the amount there is is the more significant.

The statement in the prologue to Waldef as to the importance of the Tristan and the Horn-saga, is confirmed by the evidence of the romances. There is clearly some direct influence of the Tristan on Horn, and both appear to have been known to the authors of Boeve, Waldef and Ipomedon.<sup>4</sup> The career of Protheselaus is at times so close to that of Tristan as to border on parody, with the name "Prothes" a clear allusion to "Tantris". Similarities to Tristan and Ipomedon discernible in Fergus may well be due to



common sources in the Arthurian corpus, and indeed the lost original of Lanzelet has been suggested as a source for Ipomedon.<sup>5</sup> Both Gui and Fouke Fitzwarin show signs of the influence of some form of the Tristan legend and several points have been noted in common between Gui and Waldef.

Thus Tristan is known to most of our authors, and to a lesser extent, Horn also. Otherwise it is impossible to distinguish between cases in which one author draws on another, and those in which similarities are due to more indirect causes. There is evidence, as we have seen, that the same milieu and the same literary background lies behind all these romances, and this is apparent not only in their common material, but in their strongly similar attitudes and choice of subject matter. The Anglo-Norman historical romances thus form a literary corpus, whether due to conscious borrowing and imitation, or to similarity of background and audience.

The corporate nature of these romances stems primarily from the choice of subject matter from local legend and insular history. Even those romances which seem to have been manufactured from any available material - Boeve, Ipomedon and Protheselaus - share the concerns and attitudes of those taken from genuine legend. Such romances are connected by virtue of their subject matter to the vernacular chronicle, and there is a certain amount of direct reference from one to the other, as well as some similarities in stylistic development.<sup>6</sup>

For as we have seen, the choice of subject matter is indicative of a range of attitudes and interests that gives the historical romance its character. The typical purpose of this romance is to relate how a historical figure or family ancestor succeeded in gaining a kingdom or lands, and in establishing a dynasty, and the further didactic purpose of using this fictional, but not unreal, situation to press the claims of feudal ethics and ideals.

Such a purpose is not always compatible with the precepts of courtly romance, and our discussion of several main themes has shown a consistent shift of emphasis away from the individualistic, idealistic or fanciful elements in French romance. As a result of this the themes of courtoisie and amour courtois are less important to the historical romance than the cluster of themes associated with the portrayal of feudal society, themes which in the exotic romance provide background material but arouse little interest.

The effects of this can be seen in the presentation of the hero. The hero of Anglo-Norman romance has a function and motivation distinct from that of both the chanson hero and the hero of the exotic romance. He is no longer a member of a chanson "maisnee", fighting the war against the pagan through altruistic motives - even Horn, who comes nearest to this type, is motivated by personal interest and revenge. As the ideal of the Empire gives way to that of the individual kingdom, so the hero's sphere of action becomes more localised. But he is still

filling a social role, rather than the purely individual one of the hero of the roman courtois. There are in fact no minor Lancelots, Gawains or Galahads among the heroes of Anglo-Norman romance. They may be outstandingly brave, handsome, faithful and generous, educated in the best courtly behaviour, and loved by high-born ladies, but this is all beside the point. They are distinguished from the hero of courtly romance because they are not motivated solely by love or the thirst for adventure, and from the epic hero in that their courage is not its own reward, but often has practical, if not economic, ends. Where they are lovers they soon become husbands and fathers, and their function expands to take on the attributes of the ancestor. They are usually given very concrete historical and geographical settings and family ties. Rarely do they look to magic for aid or inspiration, but they fulfill the duties of a Christian knight in aiding the helpless and converting - or exterminating - the Saracen. Religious and filial duty, conjugal and feudal fidelity, are their common virtues in which they represent the ideals of the feudal society that produced the romances.

The heroine shows something of the same dichotomy. She is invariably described in the glowing, if generalised, terms of French romance; she is aristocratic or royal, beautiful, chaste, cultured and faithful. This much is tradition. She is often also strong-willed, determined, crafty, and if necessary, violent. She goes to lengths undreamt of by a Guinevere or an Enid to get the man she loves, and when the mutual love is pledged, becomes his



active and undemanding partner. It is a typical compromise, giving all the colour and fashion of romance, while presenting a final ideal consistent with the demands of feudalism.

So the purposes of the historical romance, very different from those of the exotic romance, inevitably affect the treatment of the chief romance themes of love, courtesy and chivalry, and the presentation of character. Except with the case of fin'amors, this is usually achieved by a change of emphasis rather than by direct rejection. What is significant in this respect is the consistency among the Anglo-Norman romances, and the accumulative effect made by the repetition of common themes, ideals and motifs.

The dual inheritance of the Anglo-Norman romance writers from the chansons and the romances of France is most clearly evident in the style of the romances. The Anglo-Norman authors did not suffer from the lack of literary models as did the earlier writers in Middle English, indeed some of the worst results are due to too much literary influence, used indiscriminately. The most obvious choice available is that of versification - between the chanson *laisse* and the octosyllabic couplet of romance. In the Romance of Horn, the *laisse* proves to be more flexible than the couplet,<sup>7</sup> better able to absorb romance themes for which it was not originally intended than is the romance couplet to absorb heroic themes. One is left with the impression that if other Anglo-Norman writers had matched their independence of outlook and material with an independence of form, many romances that sit rather uncomfortably within the polite confines of the octosyllabic

couplet might well have been more successfully expressed in the *laisse* form.

However, with a few exceptions which have received their share of attention,<sup>8</sup> there is little remarkable about the style of these romances, and it is of interest to our purpose only in those romances which stand in a direct relationship to versions in Middle English, and these are considered in a later chapter.<sup>9</sup> What is of more importance when considering the general relationship between Anglo-Norman and Middle English romance, is narrative structure.

It has been our contention that the characteristic themes and interests of the Anglo-Norman romance are to be explained by reference to the baronial background of its origins. It is also worth enquiring briefly to what extent these origins affect the form and structure of the romances.

In his recent study of the Middle English romances, Dieter Mehl<sup>10</sup> shows the significance of the length of a romance in determining its quality, and by implication, the quality of its audience. We can usefully follow his division of romances into short, medium, and long length, although in the case of the Anglo-Norman romances it seems that a distinction should be made between those romances of under 8,000 lines, and those that are even longer, as clearly the technical problems posed by the 22,000 lines of Waldef are very different from those of the 5,240 lines of Horn.

Four romances fall into this medium-length category - Horn, Boeve, Fergus and Fouke Fitzwarin. At its best, as in the romances of Chretien, or the full version of Tristan, this length can produce

a structural and thematic unity, of a length that demands a greater skill on the part of the author than does a shorter work or a longer, less unified, one. Amongst the Anglo-Norman romances of this type is the Romance of Horn, the best example of Anglo-Norman narrative, and it is unfortunate that two of the four medium-length romances survive only in fragments, and one in a bad redaction, as we might otherwise see the author of Horn as a representative rather than a master of the type. Thomas handles his material skillfully to give a work that is coherent, unified and well-proportioned. In part this is achieved by the balancing of the two parallel plots, probably the inheritance of a double source, so often the recipe for a tedious repetitiveness in medieval romance. Here, however, this is turned to advantage, as the author makes full use of the parallels and repetitions, from comparatively small details such as Horn's three questions to Rigmel, to parallels basic to the form of the romance, such as the three battles against the Saracens, or the two courts in which Horn lands as a refugee and in each of which he rises to fame, fortune and the love of the king's daughter. A complete account of the narrative structure of Horn would have to include the balancing of treacherous and loyal characters, the patterns of symbolism, the three wedding feasts, the repeated pilgrim disguise, and other points, but enough has been said to demonstrate Thomas's control of his material, and the methods he uses to unify and deepen the meaning of his double plot.<sup>11</sup> The proportion of the work is equally admirable; the main purpose being the establishment of



basic situations of the romance, the author takes 4,000 of his 5240 lines to bring the action up to Horn's departure from Ireland. The several denouements must be reached swiftly to be effective, and the last part of the romance marks a considerable change in narrative speed, again an impressive display of technical ability.<sup>12</sup>

Of the long romances, Ipomedon shows something of a similar internal structure, although the greater length leads to a looser design. The structure of the romance, like the action, is designed to display the development of the hero's character. It falls into three parts; the first, lines 49-1800, introduced the characters, establishes the love between Ipomedon and La Fiere, and the motive for the rest of the action in the clash between "amour" and "prouesse", and ends with Ipomedon learning of the existence of his lost brother. The second part, lines 1800-7172, which makes up the bulk of the romance, starts two years later with the tournament, and repeats, somewhat ludicrously, the basic situation of the first part with the episode of Ipomedon as the queen's "dru". The final main section, lines 7200-10557, presents the threat of the Indian suitor, the defeat of whom is the final proof of Ipomedon's prowess, and is lightened by the Ismeine episode. The end gathers all the elements together, discovers the lost brother, and marries off all the characters.<sup>13</sup> This structure is further reinforced by parallels within the action. In each part, the hero is loved by a different woman, each of whom is disappointed by his apparent lack of valour. This numerical pattern is repeated in the Three Day Tournament, in which Ipomedon's double role as

huntsman and combatant gives opportunity for further parallelism.<sup>14</sup> The action of the tournament itself is formalised by the three set pieces of verse, one for each day, rhetorical displays of repetitio on one word or phrase; "maint" on the first day, "orgoil" on the second, and "l'un, l'autre" on the third.<sup>15</sup>

Neither Protheselaus nor any other of the long romances attempt this kind of unified structure. Some, most notably Waldef, show their affinity to chronicle in giving a strictly chronological account of events almost completely lacking in external organisation. Fouke Fitzwarin among the medium-length romances is of the same type, although here some formal framework is supplied by the prophecies which are inserted into the action at the beginning and interpreted to fit the turn of events at the end, a framework which is all the more conspicuous for being left in verse by the redactor.

The alternative solution to the problems of the long romance is the episodic structure, and one of the best exponents of this is the author of Gui. It is a long work, but not a pretentious one; the author's purpose is entertainment, and it is one which he achieves with considerable success. His technique, which had been partially attempted by the author of the first part of Boeve,<sup>16</sup> is, in modern terms, that of the series. The romance breaks down into eleven episodes of varying length, clearly defined by change of scene; 1) 1-1170, England: 2) 1170-2700, Lombardy: 3) 2700-4520, Constantinople: 4) 4520-6805, Lorraine: 5) 6805-7172, Brabant: 6) 7230-7857, England: 7) 7857-8975, Antioch: 8) 8975-9393, England:

9) 9393-10774, Germany: 10) 10774-11632, England: 11) 11633-12922, the Reinbrun episode.

The average length of each episode is just over 1,000 lines, the shorter episodes - 6 and 10 - containing the central events, Gui's marriage and conversion, and the battle with Colbrond. The episodic structure is therefore at its most regular in passages which are not an integral part of the main plot, such as Gui's wanderings in Europe and the east, or the adventures of his son, which suggests that these self-contained episodes could have had a near-independent existence.<sup>17</sup> The episodes are highly repetitive and linked by the presence of the hero - or his son - and various other recurrent characters, both friend and foe. In fact they have all the characteristics of a series, stock responses to recurrent stock situations, each reaching a favourable conclusion without bringing the whole to a close, each episode connected by character but self-sufficient and self-explanatory, set against a different background, quick-moving, dramatic, and making few demands on the audience.<sup>18</sup>

To judge Gui using the criteria supplied by Horn would be to do the work an injustice, as would any attempt to consider the romance as a whole, although there are remarkably few inconsistencies. The author's professionalism is evident in his mastery of a formula of popular writing which is universal rather than medieval. It is worth remarking that Gui's conversion, while contributing to the appeal of the romance, is also an effective structural device to prolong the action: occurring half way through, it replaces the



motivation of the first half - the love of Felice, now fulfilled - with a new quest - the service of God - which is guaranteed to take the rest of the hero's life to fulfill. The marriage to Felice is a false ending, like Holmes's death on the Reisenbach Falls, although it is even more self-perpetuating as it provides the hero with a son whose adventures can prolong the romance after his death.

As Mehl has argued, the length of a romance is closely bound up with the demands an author can reasonably make of his audience. Apart from the short works, such as *lais*, which could be delivered on a single occasion, the medium-length and long episodic romances make very different demands on their audiences. The structurally unified romance of between 5,000 and 8,000 lines, or, as in the case of Ipomedon, even longer, with a tightly-knit plot, does not only require a much greater skill on the part of the author, but also a much more sophisticated and concentrated response from the audience. Short episodes such as those in Gui or Boeve, or a piece the length of the Lai d'Haveloc, would not require the same degree of concentration. A romance such as Horn requires not only an audience capable of following the subtleties of the plot, but even more, one which would be present for two or three occasions to hear the romance through to the end. Gui, like any series, can be picked up at any stage in the narrative; Ipomedon or even Fouke Fitzwarin, cannot. The form of the unified medium-length romance, while contributing to its higher quality, limits its appeal for less sophisticated or more casual audiences. This at least would seem to be the conclusion to be drawn from the numbers

of extant manuscripts, as these romances survive in very small numbers - two manuscripts of Fergus, one of Fouke Fitzwarin - or they reappear in a different, shorter, form, as in the case of Horn. Furthermore, the pattern of the distribution of the episodic romances is even more significant, as both Boeve and Gui shows signs of instant popularity not shared by the romances of the unified type.

The same seems to hold good for Middle English romance. The single-plot medium-length romance is not as common in Middle English as it is in Anglo-Norman,<sup>19</sup> but the main examples of it share the two qualities of above-average literary standard and an apparently surprising lack of popularity; Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (2530 lines and a highly complex structure) survives in only one manuscript, as does the Morte Arthure (4346 lines) and William of Palerne (5540 lines). All are alliterative, and all are probably the products of baronial courts, the kind of milieu that would provide the necessary audiences; the implications of this will be discussed later.<sup>20</sup>

Taken together, the most consistent and significant technical characteristic of the Anglo-Norman romances is that they show a highly developed narrative ability, indicative of a conscious literary tradition, which enables the authors to handle complex material with skill and balance. Such an ability is not to be taken for granted in medieval narrative, and this tradition of technical competence in vernacular narrative may be one of the most important achievements of the Anglo-Norman romance writers, and possibly their most valuable legacy to their successors in Middle English.<sup>21</sup>

Anglo-Norman romance is thus a closely inter-related body of literature, reflecting the interests and ideals of the close-knit society that produced it. In style, structure and content, it shows the influence of the chansons and romances of France, but modified to suit its historical subject matter and the insular tastes of its audience.

What remains to be discussed is the influence of this romance upon later writing in England, as interest in romance literature spread beyond the confines of the early medieval aristocracy.



PART TWO

MIDDLE ENGLISH ROMANCE

CHAPTER FIVEIntroduction

Any enquiry into the relationship between Anglo-Norman and Middle English romance must begin with that between the two languages. It is, of course, a question that has been much discussed but there is as yet no firm consensus of opinion as to the relative status and development of the two languages and the effects on literature.<sup>1</sup> There is no need to repeat the details of the evidence here, but however the facts are interpreted it is certain that from the Conquest to the end of the fourteenth century England was a country with two vernaculars, and therefore part of the population was bilingual. Opinions differ widely as to the extent of this bilingualism, and it is worth considering its implications as it obviously holds the key to the problem that concerns us.

Modern work on bilingualism shows how wide the range is between monolingualism and the complete - and rare - ambilingualism, the indiscriminate use of two languages.<sup>2</sup> In a situation in which two languages interact in a community, it is usual to find that each language tends to be used for specific purposes. So the point that interests us is not so much the use of either vernacular as a spoken language - inevitably impossible to answer with any confidence - as its use in the specific field of writing, especially the writing of secular narrative literature. The latter distinction is important. Throughout the thirteenth century it would be easier to write a romance in French than in English - the versification, the vocabulary and the formulae

were at hand to suit the subject matter, and a bilingual audience would expect romance in French. Clearly this differs from the situation with religious literature which, being written for edification rather than for entertainment, would always tend towards the more familiar and widespread vernacular, and which had a consistent tradition of writing in English upon which to draw. If the choice of language is thus partly determined by genre,<sup>3</sup> the conclusions of studies such as that of Chambers, which are based on the use of the vernaculars in religious literature, should not perhaps be applied to secular writing.

It has long been recognised that in an age of widespread illiteracy bilingualism is likely to be more common, and this is an important factor when we come to consider the social range within which romance in Anglo-Norman would be intelligible. It is also worth noting that understanding a language, as distinct from using it, requires only a passive knowledge. Chaytor shows how Anglo-Norman grammar fell into decadence because the only demands on it were basically auditory,<sup>4</sup> but this factor in the grammatical decay of the language would also contribute to its greater intelligibility as a vehicle of aural communication. Furthermore, the style of the romances, especially the later ones such as Gui and Fouke Fitzwarin, is strongly formulaic - events are predictable and the vocabulary limited - and thereby demands little from the audience. For all these reasons we should not assume that the audiences for Anglo-Norman romance were necessarily restricted to one linguistic community, or at an advanced level of bilingualism. The development of Anglo-



Norman romances such as Boeve, Gui and Fouke Fitzwarin towards some kind of a more general appeal also suggests that the assumption that Anglo-Norman literature was confined to a narrowly aristocratic audience is not to be lightly made. Our discussion of the Middle English romances will examine the value of the parallel assumption - that literature in English is necessarily aimed at a 'popular' audience.

With a few exceptions, when Anglo-Norman authors discuss the language in which they write, they do so in terms of Latin rather than of English.<sup>5</sup> It is the division of society into "clerc" and "lai", and of language into Latin and the vernaculars that concerns them, not the relationship between the two vernaculars. However, there is evidence of bilingualism in the romances themselves. If the author of Waldef is to be believed, he, like Gaimar and the author of Horn, understood English enough to translate his source. Within the romance, Boeve's mother is said to speak English,<sup>6</sup> Horn insults Wikele and Modin by the "Witegod" jibe,<sup>7</sup> and Fouke's outlaws tease him with cries of "hosebaunde"<sup>8</sup> - a more gentle touch of humour, indicative perhaps of the improving status of English.

Furthermore, the insular quality that we have noted as typical of Anglo-Norman romance confirms that language and nationality are not inextricably interwoven in the medieval world as in the modern. Again, this is a point which has received much attention, most notably from Galbraith and Chaytor,<sup>9</sup> but it is one that has not always been taken by literary critics.<sup>10</sup> It is therefore worth citing again from the works we have considered, the case of William Longespee, the Anglo-Norman poem

that reflects faithfully the xenophobia - or to be precise, francophobia - of the time of Simon de Montfort and the Lusignans. National consciousness can be detected from the Fall of Normandy, if not before, the consciousness of a national language only from the time of the Hundred Years War; many of the works with which we have been concerned date from the intervening period.

However, during the second half of the thirteenth century romance authors did begin to translate French romances and to write directly in English to gain wider audiences. While this confirms the decline of Anglo-Norman as a viable language, it does not of course detract from the possible influence of Anglo-Norman literature; the authors of such translations must have known French; and it is they, not the audience, who would be responsible for carrying Anglo-Norman traditions into English. It is not until the authors themselves became ignorant of French that the period of influence of Anglo-Norman can finally be said to have ended. This would seem to be confirmed from the extant manuscripts of Anglo-Norman romance, the greater proportion of which date from the period in which original romance composition is in Middle English rather than in Anglo-Norman.<sup>11</sup> There is also evidence to show that the ownership of books in French, both secular and religious, extended from the royal court to London merchants and northern gentlewomen, throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>12</sup> In fact, evidence collected by historians shows that French was in common use well into the fifteenth century.<sup>13</sup> But this concerns law, public records, civic administration and the court; literature is in the van of

the change, and the status of English as a literary language was established in the time of Chaucer.<sup>14</sup>

In short, when considering the relationship of Anglo-Norman to Middle English romance, it is necessary to remember several points. Firstly, just as some of the earlier Anglo-Norman authors were bilingual and drew on Old English material, so were many of the authors of Middle English romance. Secondly, the evidence of manuscripts and wills suggests that the period of the copying and circulation of Anglo-Norman romance continued into that of the production of Middle English romance. Thirdly, the development of romance from Anglo-Norman into Middle English takes place in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, amongst the middle and upper classes of society, that is at a time and within a part of society in which the divisions between the French-speaking and English-speaking communities were not hard and fast. Lastly, when bilingualism is being considered, it is relevant that in a genre so given to verbal formulae and stock situations as the romance, understanding, and therefore influence, does not depend on exact grammatical knowledge.

In view of this bilingualism and overlapping, there is no reason to exclude a consideration of Anglo-Norman romance from an account of the development of that in English. However, this has been done only too often, and the result has frequently been unfortunate, as the existence of an earlier tradition of insular romance explains much about the later one. There is still a common assumption that the change of language is the cause of, or at least symptomatic of, an important change in literary fashion and taste. As a romance is turned into English,



it becomes, according to widespread if not fully articulated theory, not only more popular, cruder and more vigorous in style, but more patriotic, more moral, less frivolous and newly representative of a native English spirit.<sup>15</sup> Some of this is true, but much of it stems from a lack of familiarity with the Anglo-Norman originals of Middle English romances, and a failure to distinguish between continental and Anglo-Norman romance, or even between the literature of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.

It is one aim of the present study to use Anglo-Norman romance in determining the validity of some of the generalisations made about the Middle English romances, and we can begin with the discussion of their relationship to the genre as a whole.

The arguments about the general definition of romance are too well known to merit repetition here, but two factors are relevant: the attempt to define romance by contrast with epic literature, and the attempt to define romance by its content, especially "courtly love". Ker's classic discussion of the two orders of medieval European literature has been recognised as inapplicable in the case of many Middle English romances which do not fit comfortably into the pattern of French romance.<sup>16</sup> More recent critics have avoided Ker's definition by imaginative quality and chivalric subject matter, and have suggested that it is the relationship of the narrative to a "politico-historical context" that distinguishes the epic from the romance.<sup>17</sup> But clearly such a division between the chanson and the chivalric romance does not include most of the romances considered in this thesis; not only is it inapplicable to many Middle English

romances - Gamelyn, Athelston, even Sir Orfeo, among them - but the Anglo-Norman historical romances would thereby be classed as epics. The dichotomy apparent in French literature between the social awareness of the epic and the stark individualism of the romance, is rarely carried to extremes in English romance whether in Anglo-Norman or Middle English.

More detailed attempts to distinguish between late epic and the courtly romance run into similar difficulties. Comfort attempts a definition by subject matter - the chansons deal with Charlemagne and his peers, the romans with Arthur and his knights - and he makes the point that the two "Matters" are never confused by medieval writers.<sup>18</sup> Like most such theories it is only really applicable to French narrative, and does not deal with the large quantity of intermediate material - where do Horn, Haveloc and Ipomedon fit into this? Again Anglo-Norman joins Middle English in its perversity. The same applies to Giffin's theory of romance as imported epic.<sup>19</sup> One of the more perceptive of the recent analyses of the question is that by D. M. Hill, who follows Ker's general approach in seeing romance as "occupied with the problems of people who have got some distance away from the immediate and stark question of survival."<sup>20</sup> This seems to identify the basic difference between the two genres, and to offer a formula which is applicable to Middle English and Anglo-Norman romance as well as to the classic romance of France; it is a significantly vague one.

Attempts to make a general definition of romance by contrast with epic thus tend to be hampered by the wide range of "matiere" and "sens" to be found in the romances of England

and of Europe. However, it does seem that the classification of "historical romance" that we have found descriptive of the Anglo-Norman romances can be of use in identifying the nature of some of the Middle English romances. It may even serve to rescue a few of them from the company of the Miscellaneous, and several others from the misunderstandings that can arise from the attempt to treat all romance in terms of the chivalric romance of France. For while the differences between the Middle English romances and the romance of France are widely recognised, the importance of Anglo-Norman romance as a possible mean has been underestimated, indeed rarely considered at all.<sup>21</sup> Yet it is noticeable that many of the difficulties presented in this respect by the Middle English romances are also to be found in the Anglo-Norman ones; French romance remains the thoroughbred, and insular romance, in whichever language, presents an unashamedly mongrel appearance.

The definition of romance by content presents similar problems. Of all the ingredients of chivalric romance, that which has roused the most interest is "courtly" love, and a few examples from discussions of the treatment of the subject in Middle English show how misleading generalisations about the character of Middle English romance can be:

"These grosser romances (i.e. adulterous) had no vogue in English. No doubt they were repugnant to English moral standards, at least of the public which read the English romances, low as they often are."  
Creek (1911) 22

"As a class they (the Middle English romances) are sounder in morals than the French." Wells (1916)



"A similar union of a romantic love and marriage is assumed in the majority of the knightly romances that took their present form in late fourteenth century England." Matthews (1947) 24

"The English treatments...concentrate less often on elegant adultery and more often have the stories culminate in the 'happy ending' of a conventional marriage. Courtly love plays a role here, but not an overwhelming one." Schlauch (1956) 25

"In linking courtly love with Christian marriage, Chaucer was not even original; this was the original contribution to the theme made by the English writers of romance." Dunning (1962) 26

As descriptions of Middle English romance such remarks are valid, but inasmuch as they attribute this rejection of courtly love (= adultery) in favour of morality (= marriage) to the original contribution of the Middle English writers, they are not. We have seen that in all the Anglo-Norman historical romances the couples marry, not only at the "happy ending" of the romance, but often in the middle of the action, and frequently pass another milestone of uncourtly morality by becoming parents before the story finishes. So to ascribe this characteristic of Middle English romance to the influence of the growing, pious, middle class, as does Matthews, is to deal only with half the question. The middle class morality of the fourteenth century, as expressed in the Middle English romances, is in this respect indistinguishable from the feudal morality of the twelfth century as expressed in the Anglo-Norman romances.

Again, as with the question of the "politico-historical context", we see Anglo-Norman romance acting as intermediary between the classic romance of France and the more independent Middle English romances, and again resembling the latter rather

than the former. In both cases the origin for the reaction against the "absolutism" of French romance would seem to lie in the Anglo-Norman period rather than in the Middle English. This serves to indicate how critics can be led to make misleading generalisations about the Middle English romances by ignoring the existence of Anglo-Norman romance. More precise examples will occur when we come to consider individual romances.

But the consequences of ignoring Anglo-Norman romance are less interesting than the use Middle English scholars make of it. Basically, attitudes are a matter of date, for it is only fairly recently that many Anglo-Norman texts have been adequately edited, and it is probably most convenient to distinguish between scholars writing before and after the publication of Miss Legge's Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background in 1963,

Of the earlier scholars, W. P. Ker does not make use of the Anglo-Norman versions when discussing Horn and Havelok, but he does bring in Hue de Rotelande's Ipomedon in his perceptive analysis of the Middle English versions of the poem.<sup>27</sup>

R. M. Wilson, in his account of English literature before 1300 has a full chapter on the Anglo-French background, and makes good use of the Anglo-Norman romances to help in the classification of those in Middle English, although he does not compare their content and treatment.<sup>28</sup> Trounce, in his study of the East Anglian tail-rhyme romances, suggests Anglo-Norman originals for Athelston, Melayne and Roland and Ottuell, although again without any detailed comparison with Anglo-Norman romance.<sup>29</sup>

Taylor discusses the likelihood that the tastes of the provincial

Anglo-Norman aristocracy would be more English than continental,<sup>30</sup> but A. C. Baugh who, like Wilson, devotes a chapter to Anglo-Norman literature, treats romance rather perfunctorily and attributes too high a proportion of Anglo-Norman literature to the patronage of the royal court.<sup>31</sup>

The publication of Miss Legge's book in 1963 made available an authoritative reference book of Anglo-Norman literature, which has had a noticeable impact on criticism since. Her chapter on "ancestral" romance has proved especially influential, dealing as it does with the original versions of the Guy and Beves themes. However, the artificial division this creates between the "ancestral" romance and the other historical romances, has prevented an appreciation of the corporate identity of this type of romance. (Wilson's "Matter of England" classification is the more effective for including both). Thus a recent editor of Middle English romances, A. C. Gibbs,<sup>32</sup> who gives a very fair proportion of his introduction over to a description of Anglo-Norman romance and its place in the development of Middle English romance, is limited by the "ancestral" classification, as well as by dealing, as his purpose demands, only with those romances which have extant English versions.

Derek Pearsall, discussing the group of romances, Havelok, Guy, Beves, Richard Coeur de Lion, Kyng Alisaunder, and Arthour & Merlin, considers that although four of them have English heroes, it would be a mistake to regard them as proof of a historic native tradition.<sup>33</sup> This does not take into account the fact that five, if not all six, of these romances, have certain or probable Anglo-Norman originals, which does seem indicative of a



long-standing insular interest in their subject matter. In dealing with the question of "native tradition" he goes on to say that "even the romances of Havelok and Horn... come to us strained through the medium of French romance",<sup>34</sup> whereas in fact the originals (if indeed they are) of both are typical Anglo-Norman products, and the whole question of insular "native" culture and "traditional" material has never been adequately discussed with reference to both Anglo-Norman and Middle English writing.

The most recent full-length study of the Middle English romances by Dieter Mehl pays much attention to the Anglo-Norman element, which proves most valuable in providing the formal division of "novels in verse", and it would be over-pedantic to draw attention here to the few places in which it is not taken into account.

As the implications of Miss Legge's work are gradually having some effect on the criticism of Middle English romance, does anything more remain to be said? It would seem so for several reasons. Firstly, the misinterpretation of her "ancestral" romance classification has confused basic issues by separating these romances from the others.<sup>35</sup> Secondly, most accounts of the relationship between Anglo-Norman and Middle English romance have, inevitably, concentrated on the comparison of those romances which survive in both languages, thus restricting the discussion to the chances of random survival - not only in one language but in two. Thus romances such as Protheselaus, Fouke Fitzwarin and Fergus are ignored, although they can give us information of value about the literary background and heritage of the Middle

English writers. In the case of Fouke Fitzwarin we know that there was once a Middle English version, now lost, and similarly Middle English romances exist for which it seems reasonable to posit a lost Anglo-Norman source, while many others share themes and traditions established by the Anglo-Norman writers. On the other hand, the automatic pairing of two romances which share the same basic plot can lead to meaningless partnerships such as that between the Anglo-Norman and Middle English versions of the tale of Horn, which are structurally so different as to render a close comparison almost valueless. The important factor of the lapse of time between the first appearance of Anglo-Norman romance in the twelfth century and the flourishing of Middle English romance in the fourteenth is also too often overlooked, and there is no grasp of the overall character of the Anglo-Norman romances as a group and as a literary tradition, distinct from the romance of continental France.

The result is that while modern criticism of the Middle English romances no longer completely ignores Anglo-Norman romance, the typical characteristics of Anglo-Norman romance as a whole are lost, and thus its relationship with Middle English cannot be fully judged. There is still a general tendency to treat Middle English romance as a novel and original product of a reviving native vigour, and to admit Anglo-Norman into the discussion as an afterthought, although as has been seen, it has a profound effect on many of the accepted definitions and generalisations about romance in general and Middle English romance in particular. It now seems unlikely that the study of

individual romances will again be undertaken without reference to their Anglo-Norman ancestors, but the general picture of the heritage of Middle English romance is still incomplete. For ultimately a study of the influence of Anglo-Norman on Middle English romance does not detract from the position of the Middle English authors, whose achievement in creating a new literature by expressing in English what had hitherto been inexpressible except in French, is unchallengeable. But Anglo-Norman literature provides an ancestry, and a respectable one, for the older ingredients used by the Middle English authors, an insular tradition, less primitive and more tangible than the "native" one hinted at darkly by literary historians; and it pushes the frontiers of English fiction back from the fourteenth to the twelfth century.



CHAPTER SIX

Middle English Versions of Anglo-Norman Romances

1. Havelok the Dane

Havelok the Dane<sup>1</sup> is unusual in that the Middle English version is longer than either of those in Anglo-Norman. This is partly due to the change in genre, from chronicle and lai in the twelfth century, to a romance in the thirteenth. The Middle English version is not a direct translation of either of the Anglo-Norman versions,<sup>2</sup> and the intervening stages cannot be reconstructed. However, a comparison of how the basic tale is presented can indicate the development of romance in the thirteenth century, as will a consideration of the relationship of Havelok to the general tradition of Anglo-Norman romance.

Dating from the end of the thirteenth century,<sup>3</sup> Havelok is one of the earliest Middle English romances. It survives in one complete fourteenth century manuscript, Laud Misc. 108, and the late fourteenth century Cambridge fragments. Like the Anglo-Norman versions it comes from Lincolnshire, the centre of the romance's action.

It has received much praise, both for style and content,<sup>4</sup> and it is certainly one of the most independent and dramatic of the Middle English romances, with the additional attraction that it gives many details of non-courtly life, which has sometimes led to its popular quality being exaggerated.

It is significant that out of the dozen or so versions and accounts of the life and reign of Havelok, only the lai

and this romance are independent narratives; all the other versions, both Anglo-Norman and Middle English, from Gaimar onwards, present the tale as part of a chronicle history.<sup>5</sup> The story of Havelok being regarded as historical, it is not surprising that even when it is turned into a lai or romance, it should retain something of the more serious interests of chronicle. What is more surprising is that of the two Anglo-Norman versions it is, as we have seen,<sup>6</sup> the Lai rather than Gaimar's chronicle which takes the most interest in the feudal elements in the plot, and this paradox continues into Middle English where the romance extends and examines these elements further than any of the chronicle accounts.<sup>k</sup>

Havelok is famous for the lengthy account of the ideal reign of Athelwold and for the political ideals implicit in the establishment of the rightful rule of Havelok himself over the joint kingdom of England and Denmark.<sup>7</sup> Critics have tended to regard this as an unusual concern for a romance, but an analysis of the material reveals that much of it is already traditional by the thirteenth century, and also that the author has made some significant additions to this traditional material.

Enough has already been said of the ideal kings and rulers of Anglo-Norman romance<sup>8</sup> to see that the presentation of Athelwold is not in itself remarkable, although there is no equivalent in either Anglo-Norman version of the tale. The passage includes many familiar themes. The maintenance of good law is still the primary virtue in a ruler:

þat in his time were gode lawes  
He dede maken, and ful wel holden

28-9

loved by the law-abiding, he is feared by the criminal:

Vtlawes and theues made he bynde,  
Alle that he mihte fynde,  
And heye hengen on galwe-tre;  
For hem ne yede gode ne fe

41-4

The effect of this strong internal rule is expressed in the image of a man laden with wealth, travelling in safety, an image common in Latin, Old and Middle English and not unknown in Anglo-Norman.<sup>9</sup> External enemies receive similarly short shrift:

Was non so bold lond to rome,  
þat durste upon his menies bringe  
Hunger ne othere wicke þinge.  
Hwan he felede hise foos,  
He madde hem lurken and crepen in wros;  
þei hidden hem alle, and helden hem stille,  
And diden al his herte wille.

64-70

and wrongdoers were punished

were he neure kniht so strong  
þat he ne made him sone kesten  
in feteres, and ful faste festen;

80-82

His strength as a ruler is based, in the last resort, on personal prowess:

Of kniht ne hauede he neuere drede,  
þat he ne sprong forth so sparke of glede,  
And lete him knawe of hise hand-dede  
Hu he coupe with wepne spede....

90-93

All this clearly represents an amplification of various traditional themes current in Anglo-Norman romance.<sup>10</sup> Just as it is said of Athelwold



panne was Engelsond at ayse...  
 Riht he louede of alle þinge  
 To wronge nicht him no man bringe

59; 71-2

So it is said of Meleager:

Tuz jours son regne en pes teneit

Ipomedon, 52

Herland in Horn rules "par lei" (130) and Gui's father  
 establishes:

.....tele peis,  
 si hom portast d'argent sun feis,  
 Ne trovereit robeur ne larrun  
 Que li tolsist vaillant un botun.

Gui 107-110

And the count treats criminals in a similar fashion to Athelwold:

N'aveit home en tote la tere  
 Ki vers lui osast prendre guere,  
 Que par force tost nel preist  
 E en sa chartre le meist.

Gui 35-38

Meleager's strength protects his country from war:

Il n'out veisin en nule terre,  
 Ky vers luy osa mover guerre,

53-4

Horn's rule is based on personal strength and he is hard  
 on his country's enemies but mild to its friends:

Kar il n'ad nul veisin par ki seit travaille,  
 Kar taunt redutent Horn e sa roiste fierte  
 E la u veut le mal mut tost s'en est venge  
 E la u veut le bien mut est d'humilite

1764-7

These basic motifs, traditional to the Anglo-Norman historical  
 romance, are clearly the basis for the passage in Havelok,  
 although here they are considerably amplified and given a position  
 of great prominence in the romance. However, when the passage  
 is thus compared with the traditional portraits of a century  
 earlier, significant innovations and changes in emphasis become  
 evident.

Amongst these is the theme of England. No more is it the indefinite "sa terre", "la regne" of the earlier romances, but, repeatedly, "Engelonde", as many as four times in a dozen lines. (52-63) This theme is given greater emphasis by the structural arrangement of the romance, which starts in England whereas the Lai, following the custom of the genre and relating at the outset the history of the hero, opens with an account of events in Denmark.

In addition to this new note of patriotism and national feeling, the character of Athelwold is rather more pious than that of any of his predecessors in Anglo-Norman romance:

He louede god with al his miht,  
and holi kirke, and soth, and riht;

35-36

His almsgiving has a biblical ring to it and he protects the fatherless and widow:

Forto hauen of him þe mede  
þat for vs wolde on rode blede

102-3

But perhaps the most significant addition to the traditional themes is the unique elaboration on the advantages of peace and law which, with its interest in merchants, sounds a new note:

þanne mihte chapmen fare  
þurhut Englonde with here ware,  
And baldelike beye and sellen,  
Queral þer he wilen dwellen,  
In gode burwes, and þer-fram  
Ne funden he non þat dede hem sham,  
þat he ne weren to sorwe brouht,  
And pouere maked, and browht to nought.

51-8

Thus the emphasis changes to make the ideal ruler of the baronage into the ideal king of the whole populace:

Him louede yung, him loueden olde,  
 Erl and barun, dreng and thayn,  
 Kniht and bondeman, and swain,  
 Wydues, maydnes, prestes and clerkes,

30-33

Similar changes are evident in the character of Havelok himself. He is no longer, as in the Anglo-Norman, a barons' king, a weak, even risible character, dependent on his faithful followers.<sup>11</sup> The account of his career is that of his development as a feudal ruler, from the small boy who relinquishes his rights as his father's son to save his life:

Manrede, louerd, bidde you!....  
 Sweren y wole, þat Bircabein  
 Neuere yete me ne gat

484; 494-5

to the grown man who is acknowledged by Ubbe as rightful ruler:<sup>12</sup>

Manred, louerd, bede y þe  
 þi man auht i ful wel to be;  
 For þu art comen of Birkabeyn

2172-4

The establishment of his rule in both Denmark and England is marked with the full ritual of oaths of homage, and details of administrative changes:

....he hauede of al þe lond  
 þe casteles alle in his hond,  
 And conestables don þer-inne,

2364-6

and he is careful to observe the legal niceties of his claim to the throne of England through his wife. He rewards his followers with generosity suitable to a feudal lord, giving Ubbe the stewardship of Denmark:

.....with a fayr staf,  
 And seyde "Her ich sayse þe  
 In al þe lond, in al þe fe

2517-9

He makes Grim's sons barons in Denmark and gives his daughters in marriage to English barons.<sup>13</sup>



Not only is Havelok a feudal king ruling by law and right, but he also resembles Athelwold in his piety, another trait absent in the Anglo-Norman versions; he visits a church to pray before setting out for Denmark, and he founds a priory of black monks for Grim's soul.<sup>14</sup>

The villains in Havelok owe as much to tradition as the more sympathetic characters. Both Godrich and Godard have the two stock vices of the feudal villain - treachery and tyranny - but their characterisation, already remarkably full in the Anglo-Norman versions,<sup>15</sup> is further developed and differentiated.

Godrich is a feudal villain of the traditional type. He is not inherently evil, indeed he is first introduced as a strong and powerful man:

Wis man of red, wis man of dede,  
And men haueden of him mikel drede.

180-181

His first actions on coming into power are firm rather than sinister, and not essentially different from the behaviour of any feudal ruler:

Iustises dede he maken newe,  
Al Engelond to faren þorw,  
Fro Douere into Rokesborw.  
Schiréues he sette, bedels, and greyues,  
Grith-sergeans with longe gleyues  
To yemen wilde wodes and papes  
Fro wicke men, that wolde don scapes

263-9

These practical actions are, initially, only too acceptable; it is only later that:

Al Engelond was of him adrad  
So is the beste fro þe gad

278-9

All this is very similar to some of the evil seneschals of Anglo-Norman romance, powerful and wise men who abuse positions of responsibility. Compare, for example, Pentalis's seizure of power in Calabria<sup>16</sup>

Seisi citez et les chastels  
E si asist baillifs novels,  
Asist leis et justizeries  
Remua les conestablies

Protheselaus 269-72

The evil in Godrich's character only becomes plain when he breaks his vow and usurps Goldboru's throne. There are two new elements in his treason - it is against "Engelond"<sup>17</sup> and it is markedly impious, the romance having stressed the religious solemnity of his oath. This is clearly in deliberate contrast to the character of Athelwold. But fundamentally his crime is still the feudal one of breaking his oath to his lord and dispossessing the rightful heir - and this element is accentuated as it is only in this version that both villains are motivated by ambition for their own heirs.<sup>18</sup>

Godard is a villain of a rather different order; while his crimes are still those of feudalism, the evils of his character are more sinister. He is characterised by cruelty and double-dealing, and the descriptions of his casual murder of Havelok's sisters, and of the trick he plays on Grim, are masterly developments from the traditional motif,<sup>19</sup> along the lines suggested by the devilish usurper portrayed in the Policraticus.

There is thus no doubt that Havelok is a strongly political romance, and that the politics are those of a feudalism recognisably similar to that of Anglo-Norman romance. This feudalism provides the standards by which the heroes are commended

and the villains condemned. The fondness of the Anglo-Norman romances for details of feudal administration is still evident, although there are signs of a new and more popular ideal of feudalism - in earldoms handed out with a liberality which would not be appreciated by an aristocratic audience, and in the king valuing the good opinion and advice of all his people, clerks, thralls, even women, instead of the earlier emphasis on baronial consultation.

In short, while to treat Havelok as simply another feudal romance is to underestimate its achievement and its real individuality, to recognise the debt it owes to the traditional feudal romance is to understand both its origins and the extent of its originality.

The anonymous author retains something of the Anglo-Norman familiarity with his audience. He addresses them directly, and is mindful of the limits of their patience

þat is þe storie, for to lenge,  
It wolde anuye þis fayre genge

1734-5.

and his account of his own literary struggles is famous

Him þat haveth þe ryme maked  
And þer-fore fele nihtes waked

2998-9

He is certainly far from reticent; he prays for Goldboru (331-7), and for Birkabein (403-7), calls down a most ecclesiastical curse upon the head of Godard (426-36) and prays God to assist Havelok in his revenge (542-4).<sup>20</sup> As with some of the Anglo-Norman romances, the narrator's pious interjections give an added sense of solemnity to the events he describes.

Many of the changes in the actual material of the romance contribute to its non-aristocratic quality. The folk-tale



rags-to-riches theme appears in the rewards and marriages given to Grim's sons and daughters and to Bertram the cook. Bernard Brown and the fight at his house both have a popular quality foreign to the earlier romances. The sheer physical energy of the action, the acknowledgement of the basic human needs of food, warmth and companionship, the pathos of the children, and the details of a fisherman's life, and of life in the royal kitchen, have all been noted time and again as evidence of the popular appeal of the romance.<sup>21</sup> The development of the supernatural is consistent with this; the magical insignia of kingship is doubled, the king-mark being added to the flame, and becomes instrumental in determining the course of events without any of the rationalisation found in the Anglo-Norman.<sup>22</sup> Goldboru's knowledge of her husband's true status comes not from intelligent guesswork as in Gaimar, nor from a visit to a hermit as in the Lai, but from an angelic voice, a type of supernatural deus ex machina foreign to the twelfth century historical romance.<sup>23</sup> Throughout this version of Havelok, the supernatural is used to emphasise the pious tone of the poem, to the detriment of the dignity of the 'historical' events.

But there are additions in this version which, if not aristocratic, are far from un-courtly. In all the discussion on the names in the poem, it does not seem to have been noted that Grim's three sons - characters peculiar to this version - have names very different from the traditional ones of the other characters. Robert, Hugh and William are all Norman names, although there is no reason to suppose them to be particularly

aristocratic at this date.<sup>24</sup> And Grim himself has not become a very convincing fisherman - the meal his wife gives to the young Havelok includes "pastees" and "flaunes" (644) both of which are Old French culinary terms making their first appearance in English.<sup>25</sup> Additions to the basic plot include two courtly feasts.<sup>26</sup> The first sounds a note of wistful awe:

Pyment to drinke, and god claré,  
 Win hwit and red, ful god plenté.  
 Was þer-inne no page so lite  
 þat euere wolde ale bite.

1728-31

But the other, Havelok's coronation feast in Denmark, is remarkably similar to the classic description in Wace's Brut of Arthur's coronation feast, which, as we have seen, greatly influenced later romances.<sup>27</sup>

Hwan he was king, þer mouhte men se  
 þe moste ioie that mouhte be:  
 Buttings with þe sharpe speres,  
 Skirming with talevas þat men beres,  
 Wrastling with laddes, putting of ston,<sup>28</sup>  
 Harping and piping, ful god won,  
 Leyk of mine, of hasard ok,  
 Romanz-reding on þe bok;  
 þer mouhte men here þe gestes singe,  
 þe gleumen on þe tabour dinge;  
 þer mouhte men se þe boles beyte,  
 and þe bores, with hundes teyte.

2320-31

The number of French loan-words in the passage is remarkable - "ioie....skirming,,, talevas....mine<sup>29</sup>....hasard....romanz.... gestes....tabour" - but even more so is the similarity to the events described by Wace:

Li altre alerent escremir  
 Ou pierre geter ou saillir;  
 Tels i aveit ki darz lançoent.....  
 Mult out a la curt juleurs,  
 Chanteurs, estrumeteurs;  
 Mult peüssiez oir chançons,  
 Rotruenges e novel suns,  
 Vièleures, lais de notes,  
 Lais de vieles, lais de rotes,  
 Lais de harpes, lais de frestels,.....  
 Li un dient contes e fables,

Alquant demandent dez & tables.  
 Tels i ad juent al hasart,  
 Ço est un gieu de male part;  
 As eschecs juent li plusur  
 U a la mine u al grainnur.

Brut: 10527-9; 10543-9; 10555-60

Even the bears are to be found in the Anglo-Norman version  
 of Gui:

les synges i juent & les urs

7546

Just as the food and pastimes of courts find expression  
 in French diction, so some of the classic vocabulary of amour  
courtois finds its way, rather conspicuously, into Havelok.

Goldboru is thus to be cared for until she is twelve years old:

and þat she coupe of curteysye  
 Don and speken of luue-drurye

194-5

and Gunild is recommended to the earl of Chester in similar terms:

I rede þat þu hire take,  
 And spuse, and curteysye make;  
 For she is fayr, and she is fre.  
 And al so hende so she may be.

2874-8

The character of Havelok himself is not so different  
 from that of the courtly hero as may appear at first sight; he  
 has the qualities of good fellowship, cheerfulness, humility,  
 chastity, mercy and generosity.<sup>30</sup> He is loved by all men,  
 and famous for his physique and character, and while his strength  
 is prodigious, his gentleness recalls more courtly heroes:

Als he was strong, so was he softe

991

Ubbe's reaction to his appearance is significant:



"Deus" quath Ubbe, "qui ne were he kniht?  
 I wot, þat he is swiþe wiht!  
 Betere semede him to bere  
 Helm on heued, sheld and spere,  
 þanne to beye and selle ware.  
 Allas! þat he shal þer-with fare!  
 Goddot! wile he trowe me,  
 Chaffare shal he late be.

1650-57

Even his relationship with Goldboru, which is diametrically opposed to all the tenets of courtoisie, is adapted to something closer to the modified amor cortois conjugal so popular in Anglo-Norman romance. The beginning is still uncourtly, Havelok reacting to the suggestion of marriage with an unenthusiastic recital of practical difficulties, and after the forced marriage, the character of Goldboru is played down to give greater prominence to that of Havelok. But in the end their love is described at greater length than in either Anglo-Norman version (2967-76), and in the tradition of the historical romance, we are assured of their success as founders of a dynasty:<sup>31</sup>

.....þe sones were kinges alle,  
 so wolde god it sholde befalle;  
 and þe douhtres alle quenes;

2980-82

While it is evident that this version of the tale of Havelok comes from a milieu considerably different from that which produced Gaimar's chronicle and the Lai,<sup>32</sup> the precise nature of the audience and of the poem itself is less clear. Once regarded as a relic of folk-culture, it has now been generally accepted as having a less lowly origin.<sup>33</sup> Probably the most significant element in the contradictory internal evidence is the number of references to merchants and "burgeys"<sup>34</sup> and the changes made in the traditional material are consistent with a re-working of the tale for a middle-class audience.

Whatever conclusions are reached about the level of the romance's appeal, it is clear that the author deliberately re-shaped his material, and a full appreciation of his achievement can only be reached by recognising what that material was. It is clearly a highly traditional romance, and this indeed is the source of its strength. The author has the confidence that belongs to a medieval writer working within a tradition; it is this that gives him the freedom to expand and to rework familiar themes with the attention to concrete detail and the practical imagination that makes the romance remarkable. It is the treatment that is new, not the material. Havelok is a romance of a type that had been current in England since Gaimar first included the Havelok tale in his chronicle. It is a historical romance constructed around the local legend of a famous 'historical' figure, and, as befits such quasi-history, it takes an interest in the problems and ideals of feudalism which provide the material for the achievements of the hero and the machinations of the villain.

To the anonymous author must go the credit for the qualities which make Havelok exceptional in either Middle English or Anglo-Norman. The traditional material is everywhere, but it has been revised to give a product very different from the feudal romances of the country baronage a century earlier. It is livelier and more vigorous in style, with detailed action and direct speech expressing a variety of scene, event and character beyond the range of the aristocratic romance.<sup>35</sup> The very relaxation of the author's method, resulting in a version three times the length of those in Anglo-Norman, is a sign

of his familiarity with the tradition in which he is working. His own pious inclinations invest character and event with a seriousness lacking in the earlier versions,<sup>36</sup> just as the new strain of patriotism deepens the historical nature of his material.

But whereas Havelok has forbears among the provincial historical romances of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, it has no heirs. The romance of which it is so outstanding an example is already old-fashioned by the mid-thirteenth century. There is little love, and no gratuitous adventure, and it therefore lacks the fashionable appeal of Guy or Bevis. If the tale of Horn had developed in a different fashion, Havelok would perhaps not have been so isolated, but as it happens, it is unique in Middle English. This is the significance of its early date with regard to Middle English romance as a whole. It is an old-fashioned romance, reworked, it is true, for a wider audience, and therefore with a greater scope of interest and reference; but it marks the final stage of a narrative tradition, not the beginning of a new one in a new language.



## 2. King Horn

Thomas's Romance of Horn, one of the earliest of the Anglo-Norman romances, has two Middle English equivalents of which King Horn<sup>37</sup> is, in its turn, one of the earliest romances in Middle English. It is generally considered to date from the first half of the thirteenth century, and is found in three independent manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>38</sup>

The relationship between the Anglo-Norman and Middle English versions is so complex that there is even room for disagreement as to which is the earlier or the nearest to a common source, the chanson-like Anglo-Norman version, or the apparently primitive Middle English. Thus, Mehl, following the normal linguistic order, and placing the Middle English version second, describes it as "a remarkable abridgement"<sup>39</sup> while McKnight, on the other hand, states that "the later origin of the French is shown also by the bulk to which the story has grown in that language".<sup>40</sup>

From what has already been said about the character of the Anglo-Norman Horn, it can be seen that M. K. Pope's conclusion that "King Horn is in its terse simplicity, clearly much nearer to the original"<sup>41</sup> is convincing. The opposite theory, that the author of the Middle English poem studiously abbreviated the longer romance, is not so, in view of the success of the Middle English romance in both structure and detail; a condensation of Thomas's poem could hardly achieve such structural proportion, and could certainly not avoid all extraneous detail.<sup>42</sup>

On the other hand, Thomas's romance can be regarded as a consistent amplification of a basic plot, the essentials of which are also to be found in King Horn. Given the literary climate of the time, Thomas's expansion of a source is quite usual, although the structural cohesion and imaginative power is above average. In keeping with the fashion for long narrative, and in accordance with the techniques of amplificatio, Thomas could have turned a simple source into a full length romance with fully-developed characterisation, an interest in detail, expansive action, and explicit and complex morality.<sup>43</sup>

The most convincing theory as to the relationship between the two versions is therefore that held by, amongst others, Schofield and Pope, that a common source, probably in French, but possibly in English, of the length and character of a lai, provided the basis for both Thomas's masterly amplification, and for the simpler reworking of the Middle English version, less ambitious, but within its self-imposed limitations, no less successful.<sup>44</sup>

Whatever the precise relationship between them, the two versions of the tale of Horn share essentially the same plot and thus invite comparison. But such a comparison can be highly misleading if taken too far. The two authors are using the same material to totally different ends with correspondingly diverse methods. The result in both cases is admirable, within each respective set of standards. But a comparison can only too easily lead to the adoption of one set of standards at the expense of the other, and from thence to the condemnation of one or other version on totally irrelevant grounds.<sup>45</sup>

The Anglo-Norman version is a full length romance of over 5,000 lines. In it Thomas has examined every aspect of the tale of Horn, expanding on character, motive and action, giving full descriptive value to scenes of courtly life and of war, exploiting structural repetition and parallel, and clarifying conditions of time and place to make from the legend an explicit and concrete historical romance. King Horn consists of 1500 short lines, in a form that owes much to the lai.<sup>46</sup> It is allusive where Thomas is explicit, lyrical where the Anglo-Norman is prosaic. It restricts the treatment of the plot to bare essentials, treating character and event with deceptive simplicity, and creating an aura of significant suggestion from a tissue of theme, symbol and repetition, both verbal and structural, which gives a resonant depth to the clear lines of the action. Like the Romance of Horn it is a completely controlled, balanced and sophisticated piece of narrative writing. The two kinds are totally different.

To identify the different aims and methods of the two romances, we will compare the treatment of one of the main structural themes of the basic plot, the three battles that mark the stages in the hero's career: the first after he is knighted, the second against the Saracens in which he kills his father's murderer, and the third by which he regains his kingdom. The thematic device is obvious, and it is echoed by the sub-theme of his two fights for Rigmel - one to rescue her from Modin, the other from the traitor Wikele/Fikenhild.

In The Romance of Horn the enemy is clearly defined and described at length. The first two battles follow a full-scale invasion by a Saracen fleet, intent on destroying the



Christian kingdoms of Brittany and Ireland, as they had that of Suddene. Their leaders - all related to one another - are named, and their fleets, arms and men, fully described (1326-37; 2905-26). We are presented with the picture of a full-scale war - a global war from the viewpoint of western Christendom, and one in which it is therefore quite immaterial whether the enemy is Saracen or Viking. As in the chansons de geste, it is a clash of rival cultures and rival religions. The enemy, however, is here thoroughly human; he is courteous, recognisably civilised, and could be admirable - if only he were a Christian. Paradoxically, the result is more fearful than are the bogeys of later romance and some of the chansons, those impossible monsters of whom the burlesque Ascopard is a near relative.<sup>47</sup> Both kings Hunlaf and Gudrech receive the Saracen challenge with diplomatic propriety hiding a real fear. In this situation, Horn becomes a representative of Christendom, a champion of three Christian states against a very real pagan threat. Given such a situation, it is not surprising that the love theme is of secondary importance.

The scale of such a concept of war and its consequences demands a lengthy narrative, and when the length is so different, as it is in King Horn, the perspective of the action changes completely. Instead of the diplomatic details of invasion and challenge, we now have a series of haphazard landings by wandering pagan fleets under nameless leaders.<sup>48</sup> Instead of the formal challenge of noble warriors there are the blasphemous threats of barely human "hundes". In King Horn the threat to Christendom is less alien than diabolic. This is consistent

with the poem's tendency to simplify events into mythic essentials that have no need of factual embellishments.

It is in keeping with such fundamental differences that whereas in the Middle English version, Horn's first feat of arms recalls the death of his father, in the Anglo-Norman it causes the deeds of Aaluf to be remembered. In the Romance of Horn, as Horn demands the challenge, Hunlaf, like Ubbe in Havelok, recalls the hero's father in one of the poem's characteristic recollections of an epic past:

De Aalof li membra od la fiere façon,  
Cum delivra Silauf, ki fud sun norriçon,  
Des paiens, des feluns, lui e sa region.

1387-9

The horizon of the action lifts to give a glimpse of the past; Horn's father was a noted Saracen killer, history repeats itself and Horn himself thus becomes, not a lone fighter or chivalric hero, but a champion of Christendom and a representative of his family.

King Horn has no interest in the recollection of time past, nor do we have any such sense of the identity of Aaluf/Murry. The description of Horn's meeting with the Saracens on the shore recalls with deliberate care the short scene of Murry's death. In both scenes the hero is unsuspecting: Murry "rod on his pleing"<sup>2</sup> (34) and Horn goes on a celebratory ride after the dubbing ceremony:

þe fole bigan to springe/& horn murie to singe  
629-30

On the shore each finds the heathen, a fleet in the first case, a single ship in the second, and

He axede what iso<sub>3</sub>te/Oþer to londe bro<sub>3</sub>te

43-4; 637-8

In both the answer is the threat of invasion, and the heroes respond similarly:

Murry - "Swerd hi gunne gripe" 55

"Horn gan his swerd gripe" 643

This echoic quality is impossible on the larger canvas of the Romance of Horn, and indeed Thomas does not attempt it - his detailed account of how Aaluf met his death is quite different from any of Horn's adventures (276-81). But in King Horn the scenes are so similar as to emphasise clearly the only new element that helps Horn to succeed where his father failed:

He lokede on þe ringe/ & þozte on rimenhilde 651-2

The magical ring and the inspiration which the thought of Rimenhild gives is a repeated motif throughout the Middle English poem, whereas in the Anglo-Norman it is only mentioned once. (3166)

The contrast between the narrative techniques of the two romances continues in the ending of the episode of the first battle. In King Horn, Horn returns to court from his lone adventure, bearing the Saracen's head. He tells what has happened, repeating the main outline of events. Then the scene stops. There is no response from his audience, and no consequence. The action changes to the next scene, that of Fikenhild's treachery, which is totally unconnected with what has gone before. No more is heard of the first battle, until its themes and phrases are taken up again much later.

In the Romance of Horn, on the other hand, Horn's single combat, which is not a chance adventure, but the response to a



public challenge, is followed by a pitched battle. The heads of the Saracens are again taken back to Hunlaf, who, in response to the general acclamation, makes Horn constable, in which office he leads an army against the invaders and finally defeats them. This first battle, or series of battles, thus introduces the theme of Horn as the support of Hunlaf, and provides the background of favouritism and jealousy which motivates the treachery of Wikele.

The Irish battle begins in a similar fashion to the first. In Thomas's version we are by now familiar with the diplomatic rituals of a Saracen invasion, and the theme is varied by the challenger being not only a courtly and impressive figure, but also the murderer of Aaluf. Revenge is in both versions the dominant theme of the single combat, but it is not Horn's only inspiration:

Biuo him saꝝ he stonde  
 þat driuen him of londe,  
 & þat his fader sloꝝ.  
 To him his swerd he droꝝ.  
 He lokede on his ryng  
 & þoꝝte on Rymenhilde,  
 He smot him þureꝝ þe herte,      927-33 49

The battle that follows this single combat is one of the highlights of the Anglo-Norman version. The fortunes of battle are followed in some detail, the growing triumph of victory mingling with the pathos of the deaths of Gufer and Egfer. Again the consequences of battle become only too clear, and again one of them is that Horn becomes the most powerful man in the kingdom. The result is the same in King Horn, but as the poem has no time in which to be interested in Ireland, nor in minor characters such as the king's sons, who remain nameless,



His desperate courage raises pity and admiration, not only in the author, but also in Horn himself, who almost spares him. (4825) All this is very different from the Middle English version, in which the Saracens are never individualised and Rodmund's equivalent does not even have a name.

In the Romance of Horn the last battle is thus a climax and fulfilment of the earlier action, the triumphant return of the hero seen mainly in terms of his revenge on his foes. In King Horn the battle is anti-climactic in its brevity; the emphasis of the poem being on the love theme rather than on that of revenge, and Horn himself being presented as a romantic hero, rather than a feudal warrior. The succession of battles would thus seem to fulfil a different structural function in the two romances, as well as receiving markedly different treatment.

The double rescue of Rigmel belongs to the love theme, but is connected by its violence to the battles that mark the stages of the revenge theme. In the Middle English version, the two episodes are very similar; Horn enters the wedding feast in disguise, and murders the bridegroom and his followers with the help of a faithful friend. The conciseness of the Middle English renders this repetition effective and indeed necessary, and it accentuates significant verbal repetition such as that in the fight against Fikenhild:

Horn - "lokede on þe ringe/& þoʒte on Rymenhilde  
1603-4

But on the scale of the Romance of Horn such repetition would be tedious and there is far more variety. The first episode in this version has Horn rescuing Rigmel by challenging Modin to a joust and then dissolving the marriage while remaining on



good terms with Modin. In the second rescue the action is close to that in King Horn, Horn returning in disguise to slaughter the traitor Wikele and his followers. Far more attention is given to the motives and feelings of minor characters such as Haderof and Wothere. So again we find in the Anglo-Norman a variety of action and an interest in character, where the Middle English has significant parallel and thematic unity.

Analysis of the treatment of this major theme has revealed the fundamental differences between the two versions of the tale of Horn. In the Romance of Horn the sequence of the battles is carefully structured, so that the parallels accentuate the hero's increasing stature, but unnecessary repetition is avoided in the interests of variety. This variety is further provided by a wealth of detail, not least occasioned by an obvious interest in fighting for its own sake which owes much to the chanson tradition as does the style in which it is described. But the examination of motive, and the complexity of character, from the hero down to almost every minor figure that appears, would seem to be Thomas's own contribution.

The contrast between this amplifying technique and the brevity of King Horn is enormous. Here there is no trace of the chanson de geste, and indeed considerably less interest in battles than is found in most chivalric romances. Instead there is a new element of conventional romance motifs - the lone adventure of the first battle, the sinister character of the Saracens, and the protective power of the magic ring. The plot

provides not the starting point for a full-scale exploration of action and character, but action which has its meaning on a symbolic level. It is not a drama of character, nor of historical event, but a clash of opposing principles. Goodness defeats evil, faith supported by benign magic overcomes diabolic threats, and love triumphs over treachery. Action can therefore be kept to a minimum, a few clear strokes conveying its significance. Repetition is used, not as in the Romance of Horn to deepen character or to create irony, but to establish thematic unity - in the echo of Murry's defeat in Horn's first victory, in the repeated references to the ring, and in the identical scenes of rescue in which love finally vanquishes treason. In such a work compromise is impossible; there can be no chivalric tournament and polite treaty with Modin any more than there can be any sympathy for the Saracens. Operating as it does on a mythic level from which superfluous detail and even any trace of accuracy of time and place, has been deleted, King Horn is highly successful. It obviously owes much in its form to the lai, but it has even refined this form - by comparison, for example, with the Lai d'Haveloc. But although it may have a more immediate appeal to modern taste, more receptive to myth than to the Saracen threat, it must again be emphasised that its success is of a totally different nature from that of the Romance of Horn. We shall be disappointed if we look for symbolic depths in the Romance of Horn, as we shall if we expect the Middle English poem to provide character and complexity.

With this in mind, we will consider some of the basic themes in King Horn in relation to Anglo-Norman romance in general, not only in relation to Thomas's romance.

The feudal theme is still important, although, as we have seen, less so than the love theme. As Mehl remarks,<sup>50</sup> its subject matter makes King Horn akin to chronicles and legends of famous ancestors, and as we should expect from this it shows some traces of feudal concerns and traditions.

The two themes of loyalty and treachery are exemplified in the characters of Apulf and Fikenhild - they are not, as has been suggested,<sup>51</sup> aspects of Horn's character, but traditional literary portraits of the highest feudal virtue and its corresponding vice. There is none of the interest that is shown in the Romance of Horn and Horn Childe in Horn's companions, and Apulf virtually disappears after his first protestations of loyalty (319-320), but Fikenhild's behaviour receives fuller, and more familiar, treatment. He operates by bribery:

þe riche he yef mede,  
boþe zonge ant olde  
wiþ him forte holde

Harl. 1498-1500

and builds an impregnable castle by the sea:

ston he dude lade,  
ant lym þerto he made.  
Castel he made sette,  
wiþ water by flette.

Harl. 1501-4

and is feared even by the king:

þe kyng ne dorste him werne

1518

This can all be equalled in many Anglo-Norman romances including the Romance of Horn.<sup>52</sup> But peculiar to King Horn, and typical of its flair for dramatic symbol, is Fikenhild's seizure of Rymenhild under cover of darkness:



Fikenhild, or þe dai gan springe,  
 Al riȝt he ferde to þe kinge,  
 After Rymenhild þe brizte,  
 To wedden hire binizte.  
 He ladde hure bi þe derke,  
 Into his nywe werke.  
 þe feste hi bigunne  
 Er þat ros þe sunne.

1543-50

The device of darkness is simple and effective. The feudal villain is on the way to becoming the villain proper.

There is no comparable interest in the traditional king, and no trace of the baronial criticism implicit in the Romance of Horn, although there is some detail of feudal administration, as when Thurstan summons an army:

He dude writes sende  
 Into yrlonde  
 After kniztes lizte  
 Irisse men to fizte:

1077-80

and Horn, like Havelok, receives oaths of fealty when he returns to Westernesse. (1250)

At this point in the tale the feudal theme takes precedence over the love theme, Horn refusing to consummate the marriage until he has regained his kingdom, an interweaving of theme and motive the more interesting as its equivalent passage in the Anglo-Norman poem is lost:<sup>53</sup>

þu wendest þat iwroȝte  
 þat y neure ne þoȝte,  
 Bi Rymenhild for to ligge,  
 And þat i wipsegge.  
 Ne schal ihc hit biginne,  
 Til i suddene winne.  
 þu kep hure a stunde,  
 þe while þat i funde  
 In to min heritage  
 & to mi baronage.  
 þat lond i schal ofreche,  
 & do mi fader wreche.  
 I schal beo king of tune,  
 And bere kinges crune.  
 þanne schal Rymenhilde  
 Ligge bi þe kinge.

1365-80

Here, briefly, Horn is still the feudal hero. But his tale is not simply one of feudal exile-and-return, but also of a crusading mission. Unlike heroes such as Havelok and Bevis, Horn has not just to regain his heritage but to restore the Christian "ley" - or "lawe", as manuscripts H and C have it.(69) This theme is evident in the attitude to the Saracens - their king is "Iesucristes wipering" (160) - in the cross-emblazoned shield of Apulf's father (1405) and in the brief description of Horn's return, which gives almost as much space to his restoration of the churches as to his victory.

Thus, while sharing little, if any, of the Romance of Horn's inheritance from the chansons, King Horn does contain themes to be found in many feudal romances, as well as a slight but consistent stress on Horn's position as a champion of Christianity.

The analysis of the battle scenes showed a tendency on the part of King Horn to include romance elements lacking in the Anglo-Norman - the lone adventures of the chivalric knight errant, the challenge of the Saracen giant, and the importance of the magic ring in giving the hero the victory, are all elements only too familiar from other romances but not to be found in the Romance of Horn.

An examination of the slight courtly content of King Horn also reveals traces of traditional romance material. The action takes place exclusively in courts and there is no sign of any other level of life. King Horn is so often linked with Havelok that it is necessary to re-state this point. There is a brief glimpse of Alymer's court in action, in the account of Horn's dubbing, and this interest in the chivalric aspect of Horn's

character is evident in his own views as to the correct  
behaviour for a knightly lover:

And of vre mestere  
so is þe manere,  
wip sume opere knizte  
Wel for his lemman fiʒte, ...  
Ihc wulle do pruesse  
For þi luue in þe felde,

581-4; 588-9

That Horn himself is thoroughly at home in the court is made  
clear by the precise symbolic gesture after his wedding feast:

Horn sat on chaere  
& bad hem alle ihere

1353-4

and the feast itself is described with convincing confidence:<sup>54</sup>

Horn ledde hyre hom wit heyse,  
To hyre fader paleyse,  
Per was brydale swete;  
Riche men þer hete.  
Tellen ne my te no tonge  
þe joye þat þer was songe.

Laud 1347-52

Horn has a courtly education in the tradition established by  
Tristan:<sup>55</sup>

Of wode and of felde  
To riden wel wit schelde.  
Tech him of þe harpe,  
Wit his nayles scharpe  
Beforn me forte harpen,  
And of þe cuppe seruen,

Laud 244-50

Like the Anglo-Norman Horn and many another romance hero, he  
is extremely handsome:

Fairer bi one ribbe  
þane eni Man þat libbe. <sup>55</sup>

333-4

and this is expressed in courtly terms:<sup>56</sup>

Of his feire sizte  
Al þe bur gan lizte

405-6



Rigmel retains the uncourtly character of her Anglo-Norman counterpart, but after her energetic wooing of Horn the only notable addition is her determination to kill Modrik on the wedding night, a motif not present in the Romance of Horn, but to be found in several romances including both Anglo-Norman and Middle English versions of Bevis and Guy. Although the relationship between Horn and Rimenhild is inescapably uncourtly, the idea of the chivalric knight performing deeds of valour for his lady is present, and it is the inspiration of the lady as well as her ring that helps to give the hero victory in battle. The influence of the courtly romance may also be discernible in that the accusation of seduction is not immediately and indignantly denied as in the Romance of Horn and in most Anglo-Norman romances.

Although treated with the same brevity as the rest of the poem, the love theme is strong and of primary importance. The simple emotional gestures:

Rymenhild feol yswoze;  
 Ne was þer non þat louze.  
 Hit smot to hornes herte  
 So bitere þat hit smerte

1599-1602

stand out from among the shadowy background of vague battles and incoherent journeys, as if the full visual and emotional impact of the tale only comes into focus with the lovers' meetings and partings. By comparison, the fully painted canvas of the Romance of Horn cannot throw the love theme into such relief. The symbolism of King Horn is used exclusively in connection with the love theme, especially the sexual symbol of the fish, first in Rigmel's dream, then in Horn's riddle, but also the

ring and the darkness-light contrast between Horn and Fikenhild.

Thus, while King Horn has none of the rich courtly detail of the Romance of Horn, it does project a courtly world, and in its treatment of the love theme is in some ways more courtly than the Anglo-Norman version. In view of this, recent criticism has tended to regard King Horn as a courtly poem, and not, as did earlier critics, as a popular minstrel work.<sup>57</sup> Certainly it shows none of the uncourtly qualities of Havelok, and even when compared with the Anglo-Norman version, popularisation does not seem to account for any of the multitude of differences between the two.

3. Horn Childe Before concluding our account of the two versions of the tale of Horn, it is necessary to discuss the other Middle English version, Horn Childe.<sup>58</sup> This has always been the poor relation of King Horn in terms of critical attention, as it is undeniably a less artistic piece of work,<sup>59</sup> but nevertheless it contains points of interest to our purpose.

Extant only in the Auchinleck Manuscript, Horn Childe represents a later northern version of the tale, with more in common with the Romance of Horn than has King Horn.<sup>60</sup> It is a less lyrical piece than King Horn, totally lacking in that poem's rich thematic unity; indeed, it falls into two sections, sharply differentiated by subject matter and theme, and even, to a certain extent, by style. It is the significance of this certain aspect of the romance, of late almost completely ignored by its

critics, which is of particular interest here.

The first section, dealing with Horn's childhood, and the exploits of his father Haperolf, has been largely ignored since Wells dismissed it as a disproportionate irrelevance.<sup>61</sup> It is this section, comprising some 250 of the poem's 1130 lines, that is responsible for the romance's 'epic' reputation, for the remainder of the romance is, as we shall see, more thoroughly romantic than either of the earlier versions.

It has long been an open question whether or not this opening section represents a genuine tradition.<sup>62</sup> The romance begins with a claim that the story is one which belonged to

Our elders þat were  
Whilom in þis lond

5-6

a claim which, while far from unique, is consistent with the account of the Aaluf legend given in the preface to Waldef,<sup>63</sup> which, if taken at its face value, tells of an Old English legend turned into French after the Conquest.<sup>64</sup> Most critics have concentrated on trying to establish the origins of this legend, if it existed, in native or Scandinavian tradition, and; while a precise equivalent proves elusive, it does seem likely that there is a historical basis to the account of Haperolf's wars against the Vikings.<sup>65</sup> But what is more relevant here is the suggestion made by Hibbard and others<sup>66</sup> of a possible intermediary between such a pre-Conquest account and the derivative fourteenth century poem. If the evidence of Waldef is to be trusted, this intermediary may have been a twelfth century Anglo-Norman romance. It remains to re-examine the text itself for any sign of such an original.



The most strikingly independent feature of this version of the Horn tale is its geographical setting. Gone are the mysterious countries with unrecognisable names, the philology and topography of which have sent scholars not only to dictionaries but to barometers and tidal charts. Instead, there are the familiar names of the North-East - Humber, Teesside, Pickering, York, Stainmoor. It has been remarked that Middle English romanceswriters were not given to such geographical accuracy,<sup>67</sup> but it has never been noted that this resembles more than anything else the methods of the Anglo-Norman writers who were very fond of giving local habitations to legends, both old and fabricated. As this version disagrees in this respect with the two earlier versions, it would seem as likely that it owes its geographical setting to the fabrication of an intermediate romancer, writing on behalf of local interests, as that it is an indication of a primitive origin for the whole Horn saga.

With the exception of the last few lines, this geographical setting is only to be found in the Haperolf section; the adventures of Horn take place in more generalised surroundings - "Inglond" or "Snowedoun". There are other major differences between the two sections. It has long been recognised that the details of the enemy "out of danmark" suggest a tradition more genuinely historical than the 'Saracens' of the Romance of Horn and King Horn.<sup>68</sup> Similarly, the Irish invaders can be identified with the Norse settlers of Ireland. It is noticeable that the account of both invasions is marked by a strong feeling of patriotism against the 'out londip',<sup>69</sup> a sentiment quite different from the fierce religious partisanship of the earlier versions.

In the second part, however, the enemy is vague and the warfare imprecise, while the interest of the action turns rather on tournaments and heraldry. By the same token, the highly stylised and emphatic treatment of the love theme in the second part - and it is by far the most 'courtly' interpretation of the Horn-Rigmel relationship - has no equivalent in the first part, although it would be quite usual in such a case to find an account of the hero's mother.<sup>70</sup> The fundamental concerns of the two sections are thus completely different, and there is also some difference in style, most notably in the proportion of direct speech - only 23 lines out of the first 250, but no less than 328 lines out of the next 886.

It is in the second part that a number of features taken from chivalric romance are to be found, which are in neither of the earlier versions. It tells, quite gratuitously, of the adventures of Horn's companions as knights errant in France, it adds an extra court in Wales, to which Horn gains admission by his jousting ability, it gives Rigmel the attributes of a courtly mistress, doubles the magical element, adds heraldic details in the tournament, and distinguishes the Irish princess<sup>71</sup> by making her a skilful healer. All this, together with the reference to Tristan and Isolde (311), and the totally disproportionate amount of space given to details of courtly life and feasting, suggests that the author of Horn Childe was familiar with chivalric romance and that in this section he deliberately introduced such up-to-date elements into his material. But there is no sign of such treatment of the story of Haperolf.

By contrast, the first part gives an account of the Danish invasion which is remarkably detailed and realistic for so short a work. Haperolf is here not a defender of the faith, as he is in the version Thomas alludes to, but a local king, reacting strongly against foreign cattle raiders. The kinship between this part of the poem and the Anglo-Norman tradition is established in the description of the feudal muster - of barons and knights, gathered in fourteen days - of the realistic battle, and above all, in the portrait that follows of Haperolf as an ideal king. Like Havelok, he is beloved of the people -

þe folk of him was fain

87

and he is generous, rewarding not only squire and knight, but also servant and swain, and recompensing those whose cattle had been killed with the booty from the ships. None of this is inconsistent with a primitive source, dating from the time of the invasions, but what follows is thoroughly feudal. He fulfils the feudal, judicial and religious functions of the ideal ruler, dubbing sixty of the bravest warriors, rewarding others with lands, appointing baileys, and establishing churches. But the most interesting part of this account comes in the tenth stanza, where he makes a speech to the orphans of the battle - Horn's companions - declaring that he will give them their lands immediately because - "Ward no kepe y non" (132) - and the companions take solemn oaths to hold their lands from Horn. Brief and fragmentary as this account is, it seems with its interest in wardships and feudal oaths, to point conclusively to the baronial interests behind this section.



The feudal levy is called out again to meet the Irish invasion, in a stanza which has been praised for its heroic sentiments,<sup>71</sup> and the battle in which Haperolf dies is a grimly heroic affair. There is a clear difference between this account of Haperolf's death and that in the version known to Thomas, in which Aaluf is killed because he did not wait for the reinforcements under Hardre to arrive.<sup>72</sup> In Horn Childe he eventually falls prey to the superior numbers of the enemy, after heroic resistance. Both scenes are heroic, but they represent different traditions of heroism. That described by Thomas is suggestive of the workings of that tragic flaw of "desmesure" so beloved of the Old French heroic poetry, and may therefore be a literary elaboration of a basically simple heroic theme, represented by the account in Horn Childe.

While it is no part of this thesis to pursue the origins of Horn Childe into pre-Conquest times, the suggestion put forward here does not contradict such theories of its ultimate origin. But as nothing about the poem, in either part, suggests historical curiosity or inventive ability on the part of the compiler, the immediate origin is likely to have been something more accessible. It is clear from the second part that it is a derivative romance; the problem is that there is no sign of the work from which the first part is derived. However, an analysis of the content and themes of this part of the poem indicates a possible origin in a historical romance on the subject of Aaluf. There is less indication of the language of such a romance, but in view of the baronial interests, still faintly discernible, it seems reasonable to suppose that it was one of

the numerous Anglo-Norman romances that must be lost to us. Our hypothesis is therefore that the feudal details of Horn Childe and the heroic and practical character of the first part of the poem are due to the influence of a twelfth century Anglo-Norman reworking of native legend, written in the locality of the action, that is in north Yorkshire,<sup>73</sup> and doubtless drawing on the legends that scholars have postulated for the source of the poem, and perhaps also on the literary version of the story of Aaluf.

As far as the second part of Horn Childe is concerned, it is clear that it is more influenced by courtly romance than is King Horn, and that it is less successful. The additions consist of superficial details and diversions from the main action, and there is none of the depth of motivation provided by the themes of chivalry and revenge in King Horn. It is an eclectic version, lacking in creative ability. But if we are looking for a popular condensation of Thomas's poem this, not King Horn, is what we should expect to find: an impoverished and over-ambitious rendering, full of indiscriminate detail and with little sense of proportion or narrative structure.

4. Beves of Hamtoun

Sir Beves of Hamtoun<sup>74</sup> was one of the most successful Middle English romances. It survives in six manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,<sup>75</sup> and some early printed editions and its fame, like that of Guy of Warwick, bears witness to its lasting popularity and influence.

The original Middle English version is generally thought to have been of southern origin and dating from the early fourteenth century. The original Anglo-Norman version, also of southern origin and dating from the late twelfth century, is represented by two thirteenth century fragments, both showing signs of deterioration and popularisation.<sup>76</sup>

The obvious success of the Middle English version does not necessarily mean, therefore, that it appealed to a more popular audience than the versions extant in Anglo-Norman. The two versions begin in identical fashion:

Seingnurs barons,  
 .....Si vus volez oyer, Jeo vus en dirrai" 1-5

becomes in English:

Lordinges, herkneþ to me tale! A.I<sup>77</sup>

However, the two versions end very differently:<sup>78</sup>

Lssi finist la geste, ke bien est complie,  
 de Boun de Hampton o la chier hardie.  
 Jeo le vus ay lui e vus l'avez oye,  
 Rendez m'un servise si freyez curteysie"

3847-50

The English version sounds a conventionally pious, less commercial note:

þus endep Beues of Hamtoun;  
 God zeue vs alle is benesoun! Amen

A. 4619-20



The only indication of a change of status between the audiences and authors here suggests that, if anything, the Anglo-Norman is more likely to be a popular work than the Middle English.<sup>79</sup>

Our evaluation of the level of appeal of the Middle English can therefore only come from an idea of what the original Anglo-Norman version would have been like, not by the contrast with the extant Anglo-Norman version. Indeed the question is more which of the two versions reflects most faithfully the courtly and feudal tone of the lost original historical romance. This being the case, the relationship of the Middle English version to Anglo-Norman romances other than the extant Boeve is especially important.

It is therefore of interest to note that the feudal element in the adventures of the Anglo-Norman Boeve is emphasised by the restructuring of the romance in Middle English. Unlike the extant Anglo-Norman version, the Middle English romance has a double climax: the first part, as in the Anglo-Norman, culminating in Beves defeating his father's murderer and receiving his inheritance from the king; and the second culminating, only in the Middle English, in a battle against the villainous steward and the Londoners, and a peace agreement with the king that results in Beves's son becoming king of England. The framework supplied by these parallel sequences of events, of victory in battle followed by legally recognised feudal gains, accentuates this aspect of the romance at the expense of the crusading adventures that occupy the hero in between times.

The importance of feudal values makes itself felt early in Beves's career, when his lands are seized by his father's murderer.<sup>80</sup> The Anglo-Norman shows the child angry at being disinherited and determined on revenge:

jeo su fiz de counte, e l'en me ad fet bercher;  
Mes jeo ne lerrai mie ke ne ose parler  
e a le emperur me tere chalanger

263-5

The Auchinleck text follows this closely:

Ne was ich ones an erles sone  
And now am herde?  
Miyte ich wiþ þat emperur speke,  
Wel ich wolde me fader awreke

386-9

whereas the Chetham version introduces the more immediately sympathetic theme of family feeling:

I wyll home to Southampton  
And so I wyll ffor thye  
And se, what Mordours doþe with my lady!

302-4

In his challenge to the Emperor, Bevis is more concerned about the seizure of his lands than that of his mother. His speech in the Anglo-Norman is courtly, if no less threatening than that in the cruder Middle English version of the scene. Boeve is here a well-spoken child in the pattern established by Tristan and Horn:

Entendez vers moi, beau duz sire cher,  
ky vus dona conge' cele dame acoler?

291-2

whereas Auchinleck has:

"Sire" a sede "what dostow here?  
Whi colles þow about þe swire  
þat ilche dame?"

424-6

The Middle English shifts the emphasis slightly from the precocious courtliness of the boy and the feudal justice of his case, to his pathetic vulnerability, although it may be

that the change in this passage is due to an interest in greater dramatic effect rather than to a desire to omit feudal sentiment.

After the victorious battle in which Beves kills the emperor, he rides to claim his heritage in a scene described at some length in both versions:

A sa curt chivacha, ne voit demorer,  
 Son heritage tint com hardi e fer,  
 de la terre Doun fu il justiser.  
 Seynurs, tuz icels ke li vindrent eyder  
 rendi lur servise com lels e gentis ber.  
 En la cité est Boves entré,  
 tuz les burgeis li unt merci crié,  
 grant masses de tresure li unt mustré;  
 de tuz ses enemis est il ben vengé.

2375-83

Sone after syr Beuys  
 Come to South-hampton is,  
 To take possession of his londes,  
 That had ben long out of his hondes;  
 The burgeyses with moche pryde  
 Agaynst sir Beuys gan they ryde  
 And brought syr Beuys fayre and wel  
 To Hampton to his owne castel.  
 Of Hampton al the baronage  
 Cam and dyd Beuys homage.  
 Than was Beuys glad and fayne,  
 That he had his ennemyes slayne.

C. 3197-08

There is nothing here of the kind of development we noted in Havelok and tend to expect in the Middle English version of an Anglo-Norman original; the burgesses and barons are both as much in evidence in the Anglo-Norman as in the Middle English, and the sentiment remains local rather than national.

In all versions, the details of Beves's wedding feast are passed over quickly in favour of the account of his reception at court and the king's recognition of his rights to his lands. Only the Anglo-Norman retains the official speech:



e jeo vus ai rendu vus riche heritez,  
 bourgeois e chastels, donguns e fermetez

2445-6

Thus the feudal content of the first part of the hero's adventures, dealing with the loss and regaining of his heritage, is treated in some detail in both languages; without any significant difference in interest or accuracy.

It is in the second part of the romance, dealing with Beves's exile and return to set his son upon the throne of England, that important differences in the treatment of this theme appear. In the Anglo-Norman version, Boeve and his sons sail back to England on hearing that Saber's son has been disinherited. (3700) They go to court where the king immediately offers his daughter's hand to Miles and reinstates Saber. The nuptials are celebrated and the old king conveniently dies, so that the narrator can say:

Ore est Boves roi coroné  
 E ses deus fiz, com deus out destiné

3787-8

The whole episode takes some 85 lines.

This is expanded in the Middle English to give a lengthy climax - 310 lines in Auchinleck, 282 in Chetham. The king capitulates as quickly, but the situation is complicated by the introduction of a villainous steward who rouses the citizens of London against Beves. Beves, trapped in London, kills the steward and in the ensuing battle the streets of London run with blood. Eventually he is rescued by his sons. There is some anti-Lombard feeling expressed in the Auchinleck account, which is greatly intensified in that of Chetham. It is only after this that the old king suggests the marriage of his daughter to Miles.

In view of the structural importance of the London episode in the Middle English version, it seems unlikely that it is, as has usually been held, a possibly topical allusion inserted into the romance at a later stage in its development.<sup>81</sup> It has not been noted that a literary analogue for the episode already existed, in Anglo-Norman romance, towards the end of the romance of Waldef. The enmity between the hero and the king of London runs continuously throughout the long romance and finally Waldef and his men get into London by a trick, crying:

Ferez sengnurs, hardiement!  
Ferez, tuez e occiez!  
Gardez ke nul n'esparniez

21218-20

It can be seen that while the battle is not as long as that in Beves, it is as bloodthirsty. It is also marked by the same kind of accuracy in names with, for example, fighting in "Westchep" (21231), and though in the case of Waldef the hero's sons arrive too late to rescue him, they avenge his death. The London episode in Beves contains a reference to "þe frensch booke" (A4486), a claim which, though far from being trustworthy as a rule, may in this instance be an indication that some earlier version of the story was behind the expanded ending.

Whatever its origin, the London battle does balance the earlier climax, and emphasises the interest throughout the romance in regaining rightful lands and offices. It also accentuates the baronial quality of the romance more strongly than does the Anglo-Norman, by stressing the age and weakness of the king, and his dependence on that traditional villain of baronial romance, the evil steward. It has been suggested that the fact



that the steward is Earl of Cornwall could be a reflection of the unpopularity of Richard of Cornwall in the mid-thirteenth century,<sup>82</sup> and certainly the hatred of the Lombards dates from about this time.<sup>83</sup> However, these could both be later embellishments. If, however, the whole passage is the addition of the Middle English author, then it marks a surprising increase in the feudal and baronial elements in the romance. It would seem more likely to be a literary borrowing of an episode that was common property to Anglo-Norman romance during the late twelfth century, the time of the original version of Boeve.

In both versions the concept of fin'amors is of secondary importance and for the most part the Middle English again accepts the Anglo-Norman treatment of the theme, and occasionally intensifies it. There is some expansion of the conventional elements in Josiane:

plus fut ele coloreé ke rose en umbrage

373

becomes

Her visage was white as floure,  
There in ran a reed coloure;  
With Bent browes and eyen shene  
With her long as gold wire on the grene,  
With small handus and fyngurs long,  
No thinge of her was shapen wronge

M. 397-402

But the scene in which she strangles Earl Miles is expanded to give a very different effect (3220-4). She is more active in the English version, especially in the beginning when she saves Beves from her father's anger and heals his wounds. (655-736)

The most courtly scene is that following Josiane's proposal of marriage and here there are some other differences.



Her appeal for love is shorter, more direct and less courtly in the Middle English (AN 670-6; Auch 1093-7). In her anger she accuses Beves of being an unworthy knight, and his reaction shows the kind of change that results from the inability of the English to equal the semantic range of certain concepts in Old French:

"Bele", ceo dist Boefs, "Par deu! vus mentez.  
Velein ne fu unkes ne truaunt, ceo sachez,

706-7

becomes in Auchinleck:

"Damesele", a seide, "þow seist unrizt;  
Me fader was boþ erl & knizt  
How miȝte ich þanne ben a cherl,  
Whan me fader was knizt & erl?"

1125-8

The English version has missed the moral implications of the term "vilein" and thus interprets the insult simply on the basis of social rank. The bedroom scene which follows is substantially the same in both versions, but the Middle English lacks some details of courtly convention, such as:

Beofs la regard, pité en prent a quer 764

and, indeed, throughout this version the hero shows less courtly eloquence not only, as we have seen, as a child, but also when he introduces himself to the king. (AN 2409-19) There is a tendency to shorten and simplify the love scenes, such as they are, throughout the Middle English versions, and even the death scene in which the Anglo-Norman characters are given some expressions of disinterested love<sup>84</sup> is cut down into a short narrative. (A. 4596-4605)

There is of course no way of telling whether the courtly elements apparently omitted by the Middle English redactors were present in the Anglo-Norman version from which they were working,

or whether their presence in the extant Anglo-Norman is not itself the result of a later, modernising addition. However, the scale of the omissions is not enough to be of great importance, and the same applies to the courtly additions, of which the only significant one is the tournament at Aumberforce, which is presented in thoroughly chivalric fashion. (A3760-3840)

More significant, however, is the treatment of the court itself in the two versions. In particular, the king's acknowledgement of Beves's rights is accompanied by a scene which, in the Anglo-Norman, appears strangely confused. The king takes a "baston" that had belonged to Beves's father from his chamberlain and gives it to Beves, saying

jeo vus renk de Engleterre le clef  
2458

The author seems more concerned about the material value of the staff - "la verge est de fin or tot neielez" (2456) than with the office it signifies. The next day being Pentecost, and thus presumably a crown-wearing occasion, there is a splendid mass at which Boeve carries the crown, this evidently being one of his newly gained privileges.

The Middle English version is far more explicit about the nature of the office and the significance of the staff:

'Fet me', a seide 'me zerde of golde!  
Gii, is fader, was me marchal,  
Also Beues, is sone, schal'

A 3506-8

The Middle English does not have the crown-wearing scene, but it does recall Beves's office when he is exiled:

Syr Beuys delyuered up the wande  
And so forsware Englande

M. 3331-2



The greater clarity of the Middle English version suggests that this author, or his source, was more aware of the details of court administration than is the author of the Anglo-Norman, unless the latter is just more confident that his allusions will be understood.<sup>85</sup> Certainly, the use of additional detail for clarifying and rationalising the romance is typical of the Middle English which, for example, rationalises the time scheme of the action and provides Beves with a disfiguring scar which accounts for Josiane's failure to recognise him. (A.1571-4)

The tale of Beves, like that of Guy, is also that of a crusading hero and this aspect is expanded at the beginning of the Middle English version with the additional Christmas Day battle in which the hero kills his first Saracens in the name of God. However, while much of his career is taken up with the exotic adventures of a crusader, there is an inconsistency and formulaic quality about this part of the romance which lacks the more vigorous and dramatic events that take place in England. It is only in the Anglo-Norman version that there is the coronation of Beves and Josiane by the Pope and the elaborate description of Beves as a ruler of Outremer.

The most notable addition made to this part of the romance is that of the dragon of Cologne, which seems to be the result of a deliberate attempt to bring the adventures of the hero up to date, and to make him quite explicitly the equal of Guy, Lancelot and Wade, and implicitly also of Tristan, whose trick of cutting out the dragon's tongue he adopts. The whole episode is totally different from anything in the Anglo-Norman version, or for that matter in any of the twelfth century Anglo-Norman



historical romances. Beves becomes here, momentarily, an almost saint-like figure, and the dragon has devilish qualities, as well as more ephemeral satirical ones. The healing well adds to the potentially allegorical quality of the scene, although the potential remains unexploited until Spenser.

Otherwise, there is a strong element of magic in both versions, with few differences, apart from a disagreement as to whether Jósiane protects her virginity with a magic girdle or ring.<sup>86</sup> In both versions Beves's escape from prison is the miraculous result of prayer, and throughout the romance, or more precisely, throughout that part of the romance which deals with his adventures in Outremer, the "romantic" system of the supernatural, whether religious or magical, is in operation. Only in that part of the romance which deals with his feudal interests is there no sign of the marvellous or miraculous.

It is evident, therefore, that the romance of Beves is, in both languages, a composite collection of romance themes, partly a historical, ancestral romance set firmly in the south of England, and partly an exotic romance, in a process of continual modernisation, set in lands of fabulous wealth, tournaments, dragons and monstrous giants.<sup>87</sup>

Comparing the two versions as we have them, it becomes evident that the Middle English version shows a better grasp of narrative structure, making a few important changes in the content, and is more consistent than the fragmentary Anglo-Norman versions,<sup>88</sup> but is decidedly old-fashioned by fourteenth century standards. Of the changes, only the dragon fight and the tournament suggest a deliberate attempt to modernise the inherited material and to bring Beves into the company of such

figures as Guy and Launcelot, and the tone of these passages is very different from that of the rest of the romance. Otherwise the romance does not differ radically from many of those in Anglo-Norman - which suggests its close relationship to the lost Anglo-Norman original. The crusading element may be enlarged by some additional material, but Beves does not become in any way a national hero; like Horn before him he fights for God and his inheritance, for Christendom and Hamtunscire, not for his lady nor for England.<sup>89</sup> The restructuring of the romance and the addition of the London fight, if it is an addition, throws into relief the basically feudal quality of the romance's attitudes, and propagates the baronial sympathies so evident in the Anglo-Norman romance of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.



5. Guy of Warwick

Guy of Warwick<sup>90</sup> invites comparison with Beves of Hampton, as the two are without doubt the most celebrated romances in Middle English, and indeed their importance lies in this popularity rather than in any intrinsic literary value. Guy survives in five manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,<sup>91</sup> and retained its popularity even more tenaciously than Beves into print into the eighteenth century and beyond.<sup>92</sup> Superficially, the two romances have much in common; both are long and structurally episodic, with various chivalric and romantic themes in common, and both have equivalent versions in Anglo-Norman.

But they are fundamentally very different types of romances, and the reason for this can be traced back to their Anglo-Norman originals and their relationship with them. Both the Middle English romances originally date from about 1300, but whereas the Anglo-Norman Boeve originated as a historical romance of the late twelfth century, the Anglo-Norman version of Gui dates from the mid-thirteenth century. The lapse of time between the two versions of Guy is thus unusually short, and the first version is one of the latest of the Anglo-Norman romances, and one that is in many ways ahead of its time. Furthermore, while the relationship between the Middle English and Anglo-Norman versions of Beves is, as we have seen, a complex and fragmentary one, that between the two versions of Guy is quite simply one of source and translation. This being so, the character of the Anglo-Norman romance is of particular significance.



That this Anglo-Norman version was an immediate popular success is evident from the thirteen extant manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>93</sup> It is also evident from the fidelity of the Middle English translation, which needed but few changes to render its original suitable for the fourteenth century audience of a popular English romance.

One apparent change is in the relationship between the narrator and the audience. Gui begins with a statement of the importance of stories from the past, in a strain similar to that with which many *lais* begin, and this is translated directly into English. But where the Anglo-Norman ends on a similar note, presenting the romance as an example "de pruesce amer", this is omitted in the Cambridge manuscript, the only one in which the end survives. Furthermore, the English versions do contain "minstrel" asides, lacking in the original,<sup>94</sup> although while such passages do indicate a more popular development, they can be added at will, and do not necessarily indicate a popularisation of the basic material of the romance.<sup>95</sup>

Part of this basic material is the feudal theme, although Gui is not a feudal romance as is Boeve. This applies to both the Anglo-Norman and Middle English versions and is due to the late date of the Anglo-Norman original and to the thirteenth century fashion for chivalric rather than feudal romance. However, there are passages of feudal sentiment to be found in Gui, including the lengthy description of the ideal rule of Gui's father and the terms of his parents' appeal for him to stay in England:

qui governereit après noz jurz  
Noz chastels e noz honors?

1159-60

This appeal is omitted in English, but a similar sentiment from Earl Florentin, whose son Gui has just killed, appears in both versions:

Fiz, fait il, e jo que ferai,	'Sone, 'he seyde, 'what schal y do,
Quant jo ore perdu vus ai?	Whenn ich þe haue þus forgo?
Qui gouvernera après mes jorz,	Who schal now weld after me
Ma terre e mes granz honors?	Mine londes, þat brod be?

7037-49

Auch.6935-8

It seems that, whether or not intentionally, such sentiments are voiced by the older generation of characters, and that they make markedly little impression on the hero himself, who is occupied with the more fashionable concepts of love and religion.

However, the feudal ideal of loyalty amongst companions is to be found, and Guy is not always the lone knight seeking the approval of his lady or the salvation of his soul. In the faithful reproduction of passages such as Herhaut's speech at the ambush, the Middle English preserves a scene which owes much to the chansons de geste, (Auch.1349-58). But the lament of Guy over his dead comrades that follows the ambush is expanded and considerably changed:

Ahi! chevalers vaillanz!  
Tant fustes preuz e canbatanz!  
Pur m'amur estes tuz morz;  
Tant mar veistes unc mun cors!  
Coment dei jo de vus departir?  
Pur quei ne puis od vus morir?  
Maldit soient les lumbarz!  
Tant erent malveis e couarz!  
Pur quei sui si sul remis,  
Quant ad vus ne me urent oscis?  
Ahi! Herlat, bel compaignun!  
Tant par fustes noble barun!  
Qui me aidera mes en estur?  
Par vus ai eu mult grant honor,  
Rendu vus ai mal gueredun,  
Fait ne vus ai si mal nun;  
Par mei as perdue la vie,  
Par vus n'avrai mes aie!



Ahi! sire coens Rualt!  
 Vostre conseil mult par valt;  
 Se jo eusse od vus sejourné,  
 E en tens eusse mer passé,  
 Ne me fust avenu tel damage,  
 Que ore ai receu en cest boschage.

1421-44

'Allas!' quod Gii, 'felawes dere!  
 So wele daand kniztes ye were.  
 Al to iuel it fel to me,  
 Felice, þo y was sent to serue þe;  
 For þi loue, Felice, the feir may,  
 þe flour of kniztes is sleyn þis day.  
 Ac for þou art a wiman,  
 Y no can nouzt blame þe for þan;  
 For þe last no worp y nouzt  
 þat wimen han to gronde y-brouyt.  
 Ac alle oper may bi me,  
 Yif þai wil, y-warned be.  
 Allas, Herhaud, mi dere frende,  
 What þou were curteys & hende!  
 Who schal me now help in fizt?  
 Neuer no was no better knizt.  
 In ich fizt wele halp thou me,  
 Ful iuel ichaue y-zolden it þe;  
 For me þou hast þi liif forgon,  
 Of þe no tit me neuer help non.  
 How mai ich now fram þe wende?  
 That y no mai dye þe hende!  
 Acursed be þe Lombardes ichon,  
 That slown þe, and letè me gon!  
 & þat þai hadde y-slawe me,  
 & leten þe oliue be!  
 Wharto lete þai me alon?  
 þus sir Gij biment his mone.  
 'Allas! Allas! Rohaut, mi lord,  
 þat y no hadde leued þi word!  
 Pan hadde y nou t y-passed þe se,  
 Ich hadde bileued at hom wiþ þe;  
 þus yuel nere me nouzt bifalle  
 Y no hadde nouzt lorn min felawes alle.

A.1555-1588

In the Anglo-Norman the lament is a poor shadow of those on which it models itself, but something of the dignity and emotional depth of the chanson style still clings to the traditional phrases. The motive force behind the formal planctus comes from the strong feeling of personal loyalty and masculine companionship which is evident in the varied



and repeated use of "par mei" and "par vus". It is a highly conventional, but effective, lament expressing sorrow for the dead and regret for personal responsibility. Whatever qualities the Anglo-Norman has are lost in the translation. The Middle English author tried to translate the traditional French heroic style directly with disastrous results;<sup>97</sup> for example, in the apostrophe to Herhaud, words such as "noble barun....estur....honor....gueredon" become "deere frende....fight....holpe....holden", all words totally lacking in the traditional dignity of the French. But not only are the translator's linguistic resources deficient, he also changes the argument of the passage by putting the blame for the disaster upon Felice, and takes the opportunity for a conventional anti-female tirade and an address to the audience to take note of the example before them, both of which detract from the emotional intensity of the original.

The Middle English Guy does not significantly alter the courtly material of its original. Felice is the perfect courtly heroine in both, and Guy is primarily - in the first half - her knight, doing deeds to earn her love.<sup>98</sup> This gives an opportunity for tournaments,<sup>99</sup> and the kind of gratuitous adventure that is only rarely to be found in Beves. After the motive of love is repudiated at Guy's conversion, the style of the adventures does not alter, although Guy does become increasingly saintly, and there is no attempt to achieve the compromise between the feudal knight and crusader that there is in Beves. The Middle English does not differ from the Anglo-Norman in this respect, except that in the Auchinleck Manuscript the change marks a break in the romance which is here edited into three self-contained

sections, emphasised by a change in metre. This fragmentary nature of the romance as a whole led to separate developments such as that of the "Speculum Guy".<sup>100</sup>

The career of Guy is essentially that of a chivalric and religious hero defending others in a series of combats that culminates in that against the pagan invader, Colbrond. Thus the content of the original romance provides the opportunity for the later version to introduce an explicitly patriotic note into the hero's achievements. For in a feudal romance such as Horn or Beves, the loyalties are personal and local, whereas in the chivalric romance they tend to be larger, national and impersonal, and thus contain the potential for development beyond the reach of the feudal romance.

This patriotic development is especially noticeable in the Auchinleck manuscript version. It alone has the English topography of the search for Guy:

Fram London in-to Loupe,  
 Quer al biyonde Humber & Trent  
 And est & west purch-out al Kent  
 To þe hauen of Portesmouthe

p.412

But this attitude is most prominent in the fight against Colbrond, which episode, more than any other, was responsible for the long-lasting fame of Guy.<sup>101</sup> In the original Guy accepts the challenge when requested by the king in the spirit of the romance after his conversion:

Que pur vus la bataille face  
 E jo la ferai od la Deu grace

11005-6

which becomes in Auchinleck:



....for god in trinite  
& for to make Inglond fre  
þe batayle y nim on hond

p.588

and the king announces:

.....he hadde founden a man  
To fi-t for Inglond

p.588

Guy's prayer before the battle ends thus in the original:

E que ceste bataille puisse parfaire  
E de servage defendre la tere

11063-4

but Auchinleck, like the author of Havelok, replaces the  
vague "tere"

Today saue Inglondes ri t  
& leue me wele to spede.

p.592

and after Guy's victory where Anglo-Norman, followed by Caius, has

Mult est li reis Adelstan le,  
Ensemble od lui tut son barne

11279-80

Auchinleck has

Bliþe were þe Inglis men ichon:  
Erls, barouns & king Apelston

p.604

and the king says to Guy

.....þurch douhtines of þin hond  
þou hast saued al Inglond

p.606

This is typical of the attitude of the Auchinleck version, and  
it is the only significantly consistent contribution of the  
Middle English translation to the legend of Guy.<sup>102</sup>

The fact that the Middle English version of Gui de Warewic  
is so faithful a translation is an important indication of the  
similarity of tastes between the audience of the thirteenth



century Anglo-Norman romance and that of the equally popular fourteenth century romance in English. Clearly the Anglo-Norman clerk who first manufactured the romance of Guy for his aristocratic patrons had an eye for the ingredients necessary for success, ingredients which survived the change in language and the literary and social developments of the following century.

6. Ipomedon

The tail-rhyme Ipomadon<sup>103</sup> provides another rare example of a direct Middle English translation from an Anglo-Norman original. But this is a very different translation from Guy of Warwick. It is an independent creative work, treating its original with a discrimination and confidence evident in the many omissions and changes. Furthermore, unlike Guy, it has a claim to be one of the best of its kind in Middle English. The methods and purpose of the author are therefore of considerable interest, and as it is evident from innumerable details that he was working from a text of the Anglo-Norman Ipomedon closely resembling that which we have,<sup>104</sup> his adaptation provides a valuable literary commentary on Hue's romance.

It comes from the North Midland region during the second half of the fourteenth century,<sup>105</sup> a district and period responsible for much else that is best in Middle English romance. It survives in one fifteenth century manuscript, Chetham 8009, which also includes an important copy of Beves. The romance is also to be found in two shorter and inferior versions, the fifteenth century couplet Lyfe of Ipomydon in Harley 2252, and the prose Ipomedon of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century in Bath manuscript 25.

Ipomadon is 1,688 lines shorter than the Anglo-Norman version of the romance, a difference which represents a reduction of 15%. The proportion and distribution of cuts in the original are tabulated on the next page. Taking the overall percentage of 15% as the norm, it can be seen that the most notable passages

## ANGLO-NORMAN &amp; MIDDLE ENGLISH IPOMEDON

Table of Comparative Length

Method: Differences of 10% or under not counted. Percentage to nearest 5%.

Differences in line totals do not take Mss. lacunae into account.

Section	Lines in AN	Lines in ME	MSS Lacunae	Diff. in lines	in%
Prologue	48(1 - 48)	24(1 - 24)	-	24	50% decrease
		<u>SECTION 1</u>			
A. Introductory	308(49-356)	309(25-333)	3	None	
B. Ipomedon at Calabria	964(357-1320)	937(334-1270)	14	None	
C. Ipomedon at Apulia	480(1321-1800)	498(1271-1768)	6	None	
<b>Total 1</b>	<b>1752</b>	<b>1744</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>None</b>	
		<u>SECTION 2</u>			
A. Calabrian Council	788(1801-2588)	519(1769-2287)	9	269	40% dec.
B. Ipomedon at Sicily	738(2589-3326)	619(2288-2906)	18	119	15% dec.
C. <u>Tournament</u>	<u>3270(3327-6596)</u>	<u>2005(2907-4911)</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>1265</u>	<u>40%</u>
1) Contestants	172(3327-3498)	120(2907-3026)		52	30%
2) First day	982(3499-4480)	566(3027-3592)		416	40%
3) Second day	1050(4481-5530)	574(3593-4166)		476	50%
4) Third day	1066(5531-6546)	755(4167-4911)		311	30%
D. Following day	576(6597-7172)	685(4912-5596)	10	109 Increase	20%
E. Walter Map etc.	28(7173-7200)	-	-	Omitted	-
<b>Total 2</b>	<b>5400</b>	<b>3828</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>1572</b>	<b>30%</b>
		<u>SECTION 3</u>			
a. Ipomedon in France	436(7201-7636)	473(5597-6069)	6	None	
b. Ipomedon in Sicily	454(7637-8090)	489(6070-6558)	4	None	
c. Ipomedon & Ismeine	1208(8091-9298)	1013(6559-7571)	23	195	15% dec.
d. Leonin's fight	598(9299-9896)	548(7572-8119)	3	None	
e. Ipomedon & Capaneus	408(9897-10304)	499(8120-8618)	5	91 = Increase	25%
f. End	274(10305 - 10578)	272(8619-8890)	4	None	
<b>Total 3</b>	<b>3378</b>	<b>3294</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>None</b>	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>10578</b>	<b>8890</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>1688</b>	<b>15%</b>



cut in excess of this are those that make up the disproportionately long middle section of the original, dealing with the Calabrian Council and the three-day tournament. The most striking instances of expansion occur in the day after the Tournament, with an increase of 20%, and in the passage dealing with Ipomedon's battle and reconciliation with Capaneus, increased by 25%.

If we translate this numerical analysis into terms of changes in the content of the romance, certain general principles become apparent.

Prologue. This is cut by half. Hue's own name, his discussion of his "source", and method of translating are all omitted, as is his discussion of "sens". Instead, the poem is introduced immediately as a love story addressed to those "that wote, what love may mean". (line 3)

#### Section 1

- a) Introduction Although the length is the same, there are some changes; the description of Meleager's strong rule is shortened, and a note of mystery is introduced into the description of Capaneus.<sup>106</sup>
- b) Ipomedon at La Fiere's court The length is unaltered. The description of Ipomedon as he enters the court, which deliberately verges on the ridiculous in Hue's version, is cut to a more conventional length and type.
- c) Ipomedon at Apulia There is again no significant change in length. There is some compression of the discussion of "fraunchise".

## Section 2

a) The Calabrian Council Although the events themselves are not altered, 270 lines are cut from this part. Most of the narrator's ironic, sometimes cynical remarks on the guile of women are omitted, as are the administrative details of Meleager's court and his speech on the seriousness of marriage. Hue's liking for rhetorical descriptions is evidently not shared by his translator; the locus amoenus of the verger is omitted and the descriptio of La Fiere is cut drastically. This also means the omission of Hue's salaciously deflating punch-line. The hint of incestuous interest on the part of Meleager is also omitted.

b) Ipomedon at Sicily The decrease of the average 15% in this part is achieved by general compression rather than by any notable omissions. The manuscript is in bad condition, and at least 18 lines are missing.

c) The Tournament This is cut by more than a third. The distribution of the omissions is careful - of the three days, the second and least important is cut by 50%, and the last, and therefore most interesting, by only 30%. The brevity is mainly due to ruthless excision of Hue's detailed and rhetorical accounts of the general melee or individual combats between minor characters. Smaller but more significant omissions are those of Hue's condemnation of the tournament, and his account of the queen's feelings for Ipomedon. The topical reference to the siege of Rouen is also omitted.

d) Day after Tournament This part shows an increase of 25%. The greater length is due in part to the natural tendency of



the Middle English tail-rhyme to expand conversation;<sup>107</sup> this episode consists almost completely of conversation. There is also some expansion of humour. The most notable addition is in the host's conversation with Capaneus, in which he questions the host closely about Ipomedon's identity, and follows with a stanza of praise for his chivalry and courtesy, expanded from two lines in the original.

e) The famous passage in which Hue acclaims Walter Map as a master in the art of lying is completely omitted.

### Section 3

a) Ipomedon in France There is no difference in length or content. The Middle English adds the detail that Ipomedon appointed a "warden" to look after Apulia in his absence.<sup>108</sup>

b) Ipomedon in Sicily Again there is no difference in length. The Middle English alters the description of Ismeine's entrance, cutting the courtly descriptio and adding cynical comment.

c) Ipomedon and Ismeine This episode is compressed by the average of 15%. It suffers most from manuscript lacunae. Entirely omitted are the references to Rhys and many of Hue's remarks on the female character. The accounts of Ismeine's feelings for Ipomedon is shortened slightly.

d) Fight with Leonins There is little difference in length. There is some change in emphasis in Ipomedon's appeal to abstract moral principles which becomes more personal,<sup>109</sup> and the inspirational sight of La Fiere in the castle is omitted.<sup>110</sup>

e) Ipomedon and Capaneus This episode is expanded by 25%. There is little change in content, the expansion being due mainly



to the conversation and reconciliation between the two brothers, the Middle English version showing a greater interest in sentiment and drama. It adds Capaneus's rueful recollection of Ipomedon's hard blows in the tournament. Hue's description of Capaneus's army is shortened,<sup>111</sup> and Ipomedon's account of how he has succeeded his father is omitted. There is some elaboration of La Fiere's feelings in her conversation with Capaneus.

f) End The identical length is misleading as there is a considerable difference in content. Many of the narrator's generalisations about love are omitted, and the English substitutes a short and conventionally pious epilogue for Hue's crude one. The length is made up with details of Ipomedon's children, and especially with an account of the inheritance and character of Protheselaus.

The deliberate and discriminating quality of these changes is striking, the alterations falling into four main groups.

Firstly, all personal topical and local references, of interest only to the original twelfth century audience are omitted. This includes the references to Rhys, Walter Map and the siege of Rouen, as well as those to Hue himself. This process was begun by "Johan de Dorkingge", the scribe of the modernised thirteenth century Anglo-Norman version,<sup>112</sup> but it is here taken much further.

Secondly, the feudal element in Hue's romance, which at times becomes positively didactic, is methodically excised. The portrait of Meleager as an ideal king, with its explicit moral, is changed from a precise catalogue of traditional qualities into

a portrait of vague benevolence:

Meleager, un reis ancifs,  
 De deinz Cecile iert sires jadis,  
 Chivaler merveillous esteit,  
 Tuz jours son regne en pes teneit;  
 Il n'out veisin en nule terre,  
 Ky vers luy osa mover guerre,  
 Kar il esteit de grant saver,  
 Riches e manant, de grant aver,  
 Cil, ky pruz est & poet doner,  
 De meuz poet terre gouverner,  
 Si il teneit e sens e mesure  
 Pur maintenir lai e dreiture,  
 Kar, a certes, par fol seignur  
 N'iert bien tenue grant honor.  
 Icist ne fust pas fous musarz,  
 Kar les terres de plusurs parz  
 De lui environ ot conquis;  
 Il n'ot duc, cunte ne marchis,  
 Ke ses hommes devenus ne seit,  
 Ou soit a tort ou soit a dreit.

49-68

In Cesayle sumtyme wonyd a kyng,  
 That holden was wyth old and ynge  
 Off poynttes wythe owten pere;  
 He was worthy, were & wyse,  
 Ouer all he wan losse and pryce,  
 Men callyd him Mellyagere;  
 He had bovnden to his hande  
 In Fraunce & many other lande,  
 Douzty dukes and dere;

25-33

The discussion on franchise and faithful service remains on a personal level, Hue's generalised remarks aimed directly at the audience<sup>113</sup> being omitted. The administrative details of Meleager's court are no longer to be found,<sup>114</sup> nor, more significantly, is the comment on marriage:

De femme prendre e espuser/N'est mie a billette juer

2403-4

Hue's strongly critical account of the tournament is transformed into an enthusiastic, if shorter one, remarks in the original such as:



Unc mes ne fut pur une femme  
 Si fere bataille en nul regne;  
 Tel i quidout venir ke sage  
 Ke mut mar vit le mariage. 3909-12

become

Hit was neuer, syn god þis world began,  
 A fayrer turnament, þen þat was one,  
 Off men, that worthy ware. 4544-6

There is the remnant of a critical attitude in the description of the French war, but tournaments are clearly acceptable to the Middle English author.<sup>115</sup>

Ipomedon loses what feudal dignity he is given by Hue; the moral principles that he claims to represent in his fight with Leonins are omitted in favour of an emphasis on the love motif,

Jo par resum la voil defendre:  
 Force n'est pruz c'untre resum  
 Ne vers leaute traisun 9715-20 116

becoming

ye ere/Right ille avysud off this,  
 That this dystrowys þis fayre contre,  
 And ye thynke to wyffe, þat louys not the,  
 Ne neuer more will, ywis.... 7965-9

Ipomedon's account to Capaneus of how he has succeeded to the throne of Apulia and received the homage of his nobles is also omitted. The only addition of this kind of material is the detail of the "warden".

The third, and perhaps most interesting problem which faced the Middle English adaptor, was the strong and pervasive character of his predecessor. He solves the problem in the only way possible, by deleting not only Hue's name, but most of the cynical asides, personal remarks and downright gossip of the original. In so doing he completely loses the humorous ambiguity towards the material of traditional romance and creates a serious and



conventional one. It is also a more moral one, Hue's version being sprinkled with frank, cynical, sometimes salacious comment which is firmly censored. This re-alignment of the romance affects most consistently the attitude to women. Nearly all the comments on female wiles and passions are omitted, except for a few instances in the case of Ismeine, whose contrast to the heroine is thus accentuated. La Fiere herself is given a romantic dignity she never attains in the original, and the Queen's love for Ipomedon is treated more kindly, remarks typical of the original such as:

Mut valt le juster enz el lit  
4312

becoming

she lovythe hym neuer þe lesse  
3473

Ipomedon, also, becomes a more conventional romance hero, an effect achieved partly by the omission of ridiculously exaggerated passages such as his arrival at Calabria.<sup>117</sup>

It should be noted that, just as the Middle English removes all these anti-romantic elements, so it does not significantly shorten those cores of chivalric romance, the soliloquies and heart-searchings so often cast aside by English adapters.<sup>118</sup>

Most of these changes are omissions, but the author also adds to his material. There is a slight increase in humour to make up for what is lost in the expulsion of Hue from the romance, mainly consisting of a robust enjoyment of the discomfort caused by Ipomedon to his friends. The lack of cynicism gives opportunity for an increase in sentiment, in the relationships between Ipomedon and La Fiere and Ipomedon and Capaneus. The character of

Capaneus himself is expanded considerably, this author making the most of the potential for mystery and irony. When he is introduced the author remarks

How he was gotton, I can not sayne;

43

and his speech to the host after the tournament is expanded to bring out the irony in his questions

But, dere syr, speryd pou ovght pat  
Where he was borne & what he hatte  
Or whenne he comythe agayne?

5188-5190

and in his praise of Ipomedon. As a result of this additional interest, the author elaborates on the final fight between the brothers, exploiting to the full the potential in the situation for surprise and emotion.

The additional information supplied about Ipomedon's children is interesting in view of the light it throws upon the fame of the hero of Hue's second romance; there is no equivalent ending in either the original or the Lyfe and the prose version is unfinished. As there is no hint of the quarrel between the two brothers, only an account of how Protheselaus inherits his mother's lands and how

He was a full nobull kyng,  
Lyke to his fader in all thyng

8852-3

it is impossible to judge how direct a reference it is to Hue's sequel.

The last main category of the author's changes, and one which, line for line, probably accounts for most of the difference in length, is that of his reduction of many of Hue's rhetorical set-pieces, mainly descriptive, and especially those of fighting.† But his treatment of such passages is varied, and this brings us to the question of the style in which the author of Ipomadon



translates his source. For the success of the romance lies in its stylistic quality as well as in the author's discriminating treatment of his source material, and it is the only one of these romances to meet the challenge of the Anglo-Norman on the ground of the full-length, conventional chivalric romance. The style evolved for the purpose is a combination of the features of Hue's own highly competent and individual romance style and those stylistic features available to fourteenth century Middle English.

Hue's style is particularly rich in the rhetoric of French romance.<sup>119</sup> It is a highly-wrought and conventionalised rhetorical style evolved by the twelfth century romance writers to suit the octosyllabic couplet, the new material of romance, and the syntactical and lexical patterns of the French language. But the author of Ipomadon shows that he was aware that English had its own system of conventional rhetoric and romance style. In this romance we can witness the activity of an adapter capable, not only of accurate translation, but also of substituting the idiomatic native style equivalent to - not in imitation of - his original. His methods can best be illustrated by examining his translations of some passages which, in the original, exemplify the main features of Hue's style.

The long passages of rhetorical repetition are usually kept by the Middle English author when they occur in dialogue;<sup>120</sup> sometimes, as in Capaneus's speech describing Ipomedon's procession, he outdoes his original:



Ne ne veistes unkes mes  
 Si beaus chevaus ne tel herneis,  
 Si beaus oiseaus, si beaus vadlez,  
 Si beas levrers, si beaus brachez;  
 Lur sire est asez juvenceaus,  
 Mes mut est alignez e beaus,  
 E si meine une dameisele,  
 A mei semble, q'ele est mut bele.  
 2831-8

So fayre stedys, so fayre palfreys,  
 So fayre hors, so fayre harneys,  
 With chyldur so faire & yinge,  
 So fayre haukes, so fayre houndes,  
 So fayre racchis, goynge on groundes,  
 To se ys grette lykyng,  
 So fayre knyghttes, so fayre a maye,  
 So fayre and so good araye,  
 But yff it were a kinge.  
 2563-72

The translator's enthusiasm for repetitio is evident - to Hue's seven instances of "si beaus" in eight lines, the English matches no less than eleven of "so fayre" in as many. To do this it elaborates rather meaninglessly on the list provided by the original, "chevaus", for example, being translated by "stedys," "palfreys", and "hors". The total information given, however, is less; we are not told anything yet of Ipomedon himself, nor as much about the "maye".

But a comparable passage produces slightly different results. La Fiere's long and complex soliloquy on the subject of pride is one of Hue's most accomplished purple passages:

Ohi, Orgoil, orible vice,  
 Tuz tens pert la vostre malice;  
 Par mun orgoil oi primes guerre,  
 Par mun orgoil, pert ceste terre,  
 Par mun orgoil, pert mes amis,  
 Par mun orgoil, a mort languis,

Par mun orgoil, par mun desrai  
 N'at mes nul hum cure de mei,  
 Pur mun orgoil sui desherite,  
 De mun coup meismes sui chaeite:  
 Lucifer chai par orgoil  
 E muz angles par sun escoil;  
 Sembler voleit li rei altisme,  
 Par ço chairent en abisme  
 E sunt de la grant resplendur  
 A tuz dis mes en tenebrur;  
 Jo resui par mun grant orguil  
 Chaete e mise en grant triboil;  
 Jo voleie trop haut munter  
 E ben quidoue estre sanz per;  
 Ço dient ceste saive gent:  
 Mesure cuvent od talent;  
 Redient, ke munte trop haut,  
 Tost pot descendre a mauveis saut.  
 4585-4608

Curst pride & wykked vysse,  
 Woo worthe thy grette malisse!  
 I may so say hardely:  
 Thruh pryde forsakes me now my love,  
 Pryde brynges me vnder & not above  
 With many a carefull crye;  
 Be my pryde I am destroyde  
 And be my pryde grettly noyde:  
 He hathe enchosone, why!  
 Wyse men saye be sent Sykasbas:  
 "Who hes them selff, þat belive is las"  
 In good faythe, that tam I!  
 My þought was ever so mekyll on pryde  
 Myne owne worde me now chyde,  
 And trewely, that is right;  
 For he above, as god wolde pere,  
 For his pryde fell Lusyfere  
 To hell fro heyven on hyghte:  
 I have byn ay ouer-proude in hertt;  
 Movnt ouer-hye that hath me gerte,  
 And now full lowe I lyghte.  
 3676-97

While keeping the dense repetition of 'pride', the Middle English achieves a greater variety by altering the position of



the word in the line, and replacing the monotonous introductory phrase "par mun" by a variety of prepositions. The result is less taut, an impression which is greatly increased by the tail-lines, which are used for emphasis rather than to further the argument of the passage. No attempt is made to translate two passages which are inseparably bound up with the traditional phraseology of Old French, the description of Lucifer's fall from light to darkness with the rhyme "resplendur...tenebrur",<sup>121</sup> and the untranslatable moral injunction: "Mesure cuvent od talent". The argument of the passage is further simplified in a way which provides a sample of the translator's method with the whole romance; the theme that pride has deprived La Fiere not only of love, but also of lands, peace and feudal position, is omitted. The whole passage becomes more straightforward and more personal.

The conventions of French romance provided Hue with another stylistic device which he made very much his own, stichomythic conversation, and again the English author follows his lead as in La Fiere's conversation with Jason:

Et dit "Apportez vus nouvelle?"  
 "Damoisele, mout qe me poise,  
 Kar a mon us est trop malveise."  
 "Coment, qel est? Dites le moy!"  
 "Dame, mout volunters, par foy!  
 Vostre vadlet s'en est aleez  
 Et par may vous salu' assez!"  
 "Ly quels?" "Vostre vadlet estrange:  
 Ja mes n'avez de ly eschange!"  
 "Alez?" "Oyl!" "Pur quey?" "Ne say!"  
 "Ky ly mesfist?" "Nuls" "Si fist!" "Nay"  
 Eins est son songe, k'ad songe,  
 Dount a merveille est desheite."



"What tydynges, Jasone, I the praye!"  
 "Madame, yf I the sothe schall saye,  
 No wors be they ne myghte!"  
 "How soo, cosyne, be god alonne?"  
 "Your valette, damysell, ys agoone,  
 Ofte grette you wele that wyghte!"  
 "Whiche?" sche sayd; "pe valet straunge:  
 Ye of hym schall haue challenge  
 Nether be day ne nyght!"  
 "Ys he goone?" "Madame, yea!"  
 "Whotte thow oghte, why?" "Madame na,  
 As have I joye or blis!"  
 "Did anny man hym aught but right?"  
 "Nay, but a dreme, he dremyd to-nyghte,  
 Hathe made hym wend, iwys!"

1355-69

The closeness of the arrangement and argument to the original is evident, but again the English is more relaxed, and therefore, in this case, less effective. Three of the four tail-lines are exclamatory,<sup>122</sup> and the translator, lacking the confidence to let the conversation run its own course, inserts a guiding "sche sayd" (1361). The difficulty of matching the conciseness of the original in conversational passages is the cause of some of the lengthening noticed in sections of the romance that contain a considerable amount of conversation.

When the translator does show an independent approach, it usually takes the form of a heavily alliterated style. Even in the passages we have already discussed, alliterative phrases have been introduced such as "goynge on grounde", "many a careful crye", and "hevyn on hyghte".<sup>123</sup> Not that alliteration is altogether foreign to Hue; compare the two descriptions of Ipomedon's ride through the forest:

En une forest sunt venu,  
 Li bois ert verz e ben foillu,  
 E cele forest retentist  
 E des chanz des oiseaus fremist  
 Perent ces foilles e ces flurs;  
 Ki aime, dunc pense d'amurs.  
 Ipomedon pas ne s'ublie,<sup>z</sup>  
 K'il asez ne peust de s'amie;  
 Un chant, k'il out fet, vet chantant  
 Sur un bel palefrei amblant.  
 2713-22

In to a foreste feyre and grene,  
 Ther foullys song al bedene  
 On bowes, bothe lesse & mare,  
 The frithe was full of swete flouris:  
 Who lyst to love paramowres,  
 Grette lykyng had byn thare.  
 Ipomadon forgettys nouzte,  
 To haue his leman in his thoughte,  
 That made hym sign full sare;  
 And also he rode in his thynkyng,  
 A songe of loue he gan to syng:  
 "For her ay mys I fare."  
 2444-55

Clearly the alliteration on 'f' is suggested by the original, but whereas it is not more than a decorative rhetorical device in the French, it has a structural function and greater density in the English, and is supported by further alliteration on 'b' and 'l'. The alliteration on 'l' is the main device in the second part of the passage, linking "lyst...love...lykyng...leman...loue". The French achieves a similar effect with the adnominatio of "aime...amurs...amie...amblant", a favourite device of Hue's when he does not have the opportunity for more obvious repetition. In this passage the advantages of the English metre make themselves felt, the variety of metre giving a liveliness and vigour to the English which is sadly lacking in the French. The expansion of the last line gives a fitting culmination of the lyrical tone of the whole passage, although



"on bowes both lesse & mare" is but a feeble substitute for Hue's resounding birdsong.

But if the alliteration in this passage owes its origin to the French, it is most often used independently, sometimes even in one line, such as the translation of

Despleie ad sun gunfanun 3580

by the splendidly romantic

The wynd wavyd his whyght pensell 3091

The description of the hunt, in particular, shows the alliterative style on its own ground where the French cannot match it:

Descouple i est meint brachet,  
Cornent & huent cil valet;  
Ki la fust, donc poeit oir  
La forest des corns retentir  
E des braches itant duz cri.

.....  
Ait deu! taunt ducement crie  
E sone tost cel corn si bien!

593-7; 606-7

For bugeleys blaste & brachys crye

.....  
Hornys blewe and houndus ranne  
Wyth oppyn mowthe full mery than  
And many bugels blaste;  
A noble noyse it was to here"

604; 624-7

There is no need for comment; where noisy action is required, a passage of fourteenth century alliterative Middle English cannot be equalled.

But the translator's use of alliteration has more significance than this, as it indicates that the long line heroic *laisse* of Old French can act as the equivalent of the long alliterative heroic line of Old and Middle English.<sup>124</sup> This theory of general equivalence is supported by this author's treatment of the chanson element in Hue's style. Some is just omitted; the



tournament is cut considerably, and the translator is wisely reticent when faced with that theme so beloved of the chanson writers, and so suited to their style, that of a marching army shining in the sun:<sup>125</sup>

Meint blanc escu e meint vermeil  
 Flambeie cuntre le soleil,  
 Meint heaume e meinte brune bele  
 Cuntre la clarté estencele  
 E reluist, e meinte cropere,  
 E venteille meinte banere,  
 E resplendist meinte glaive agu,  
 Meinte suzsele a or teissu,  
 Meint arçun d'or e meint lorein,  
 Sune i meint peitral e maint frein  
 9991-10,000

Ryally this knyght roode  
 Wyth shaftes and wyth shyldes brode  
 And breny burnyssed bare.  
 82557-7

Even here, the translator's response is to fall into the alliterative style. But it is when it comes to the description of fighting that the translator recognises the deeply rooted heroic tradition that lies behind Hue's formulae and without attempting a direct translation,<sup>126</sup> substitutes the heroic style of his own tradition.

Analysis of one short passage from the Anglo-Norman shows how much this aspect of Hue's style owes to the chanson tradition:

- a) Ore comence mut dur estur,  
 Trebuchent e murent plusur,  
 Percent e fendent ces escuz
- b) E fausent ces heaumes aguz;
- c) As chapleiz tintent espees
- d) E fausent ces broines safrees;  
 Freinte est meinte hanste fremine
- e) E meint la boielle i traine,  
 E meint la ceruele i espant,
- f) E par ces rues vient curant  
 Meint bon cheval e meint destrer  
 Senz sun seignur tut estraer.  
 3885-96

Amongst the many comparable lines from the chansons are:

- a) "Veient les laiz destruiemenz/ E les pesmes trebuchemenz"  
Duc de Norm. 11,3143
- b) "Fiert Marganices sur l'elme a or agut" CR, 1954
- c) "de lur espees e ferir e capler" CR, 1681
- d) "Trenchet le cors a sa brunie safree" CR, 1372
- e) "Defors sun cors veit gesir la bûele/ Desuz le frunt li buillit la  
 ceruele" CR, 2247-8
- f) "Tant bon cheval, tant bon destrier  
 Par mi la bataille estraier" Buc de Norm. 11,8692.

Comparable passages in the English have become:

Barons vnder stedys fett  
 Lay hevely gronyng on the grete,  
 And many there lyvys had lorne,  
 Riche hawberkes all torente,  
 Barnys bledand on the bente,  
 There shuldurs on sownder shorne;  
 ... ..  
 Knyghttes in the feld lay strewed,  
 There neke bonys in sundere hewed  
 Wyth many a wounde full depe.  
 5801-6; 5870-2

The mixture of alliteration, rhyme and strong metre gives a vigour lacking in the more literary original. This can be seen even more clearly in the two treatments of the fight between Ipomedon and Leonins:

Croist li fers, esgrone l'acer,  
 Sovent e menu s'entredunent,  
 Mut rebundissent e resunent  
 Es heaumes les merveilus coups,  
 Dunt encheent mailles e clous;  
 Lores fausent les hobercs safrez  
 E quassent les heaumes gemmez.  
 9746-52



They crasse mayles thugh per caste,  
 Blode oute of there browes braste,  
 So hard on helmes they hewed;  
 They shevyrd shaftes & sondurde shyldes,  
 The helmes, that they on hedde weldes,  
 As flowres in feld they strewed. 127  
 7988-93

The ability of the English to absorb new elements is particularly striking in the image in the last line which, despite its origins in the chansons,<sup>128</sup> is inseparably bound up by alliteration and rhyme with the rest of the verse.

It is neither possible nor necessary to make a value judgement as to the better of the two styles. Neither author is of the first rank, nor does either achieve any new or striking effects within his own tradition. Hue is drawing on a well established literary type and relies on the power of association, not of his own making, to give weight to his descriptions, while the Middle English author relies on the simple onomatopoeic powers of alliteration. But what is significant is his appreciation of the importance of the chanson style when he meets it in his source. His wisdom in using the alliterative style as a substitute becomes even more apparent when the case of Guy of Warwick is considered. Here the Anglo-Norman again draws heavily on traditional chanson formulae for its battles, and the Middle English author attempts a direct translation which is, at a charitable estimate, feeble:



Guischart le va ferir atant  
 El healme qui est cler luissant,  
 Un des quarters l'en abati,  
 Le colp sur l'espalle descendi,  
 Plus de set mailles i detrencha,  
 Mes la char mie n'entama.  
 Cum Gui se senti feru,  
 Del quer en est mult irascu,  
 Ferir l'en va par grant irrur,  
 Cum chevaler de grant valor,  
 L'espalle ben pres demi pé  
 Del cors li ad desevré.

1367-78

Gwichard smot Gij wip michel mizt  
 Open þe helme þat schon so brizt,  
 þat a quarter out fleye;  
 þe knizt was boþe queynt & sleye.  
 Opon his scholder þat swerd glod,  
 Of his hauberk it tok a pece brod;  
 God saued Gij þat he nas ded,  
 No for þat dint hadde no qued.  
 When Gij seye him so smite,  
 He was wroþ, ye may wele wite;  
 Gwichard he wald fond to smite  
 Wip his swerd þat wold wele bite;  
 To him he smot swiþe smert  
 þurch þe bodi ful ney þe hert:  
 þat gode swerd þurchim þrang.

Auch.1495-1509

Thus, as with the content, the style of the translation reveals an author who deals with his material with perceptive discrimination. Of the various elements in Hue's style, the Middle English version accepts many of his rhetorical extravagances, especially in dialogue, but shows a tendency to substitute alliteration for adnominatio. But whereas the English is prepared to accept the romance style at second hand, it recognises the alien and inimitable quality of the heroic style and substitutes its own equivalent, which clearly owes much to the poems of the

alliterative tradition, although it does not equal them.

It is evident that the anonymous author responsible for Ipomadon had a clear idea of what a chivalric romance should be, and of the potential of his material and language. The comparatively late date at which he is writing is an important factor in this. His changes in his original mean that the qualities noted as being particularly characteristic of Hue de Roteland's romances - didacticism, humour and contemporary gossip amongst them - have disappeared. The deliberation with which the Middle English author has adapted his Anglo-Norman original helps to identify those aspects of the original which by the fourteenth century seemed old-fashioned or otherwise unacceptable. It is particularly interesting to see how, with commendable perception, he has omitted those passages in which the Anglo-Norman Ipomedon most clearly shows its affinity with the historical romance of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The serious feudal interests of the twelfth century baronial romance are deleted as consistently as the disturbing influence of Hue's cynicism. This sophisticated cynicism in the original has been replaced by a whole-hearted acceptance of the conventions of the chivalric romance, and a fresh pleasure in the courtly and the marvellous, with a faithful transmission of his ideal amour cortois conjugal. The result is a distillation of the original to give a consistently polished and charming chivalric romance, completely lacking in all idiosyncrasies and notable only for its quality. Finally, if it is this aspect of the original that attracted the notice of the fourteenth century translator, it is not surprising that Protheselaus was never translated.



7. The Lyfe of Ipomydon

The couplet version of Ipomydon B<sup>129</sup> is primarily of interest as an example of the conventional idea of what a Middle English version of an Anglo-Norman original should be, and one which is all the more valuable since, as we have seen, such examples are rare. It is a shorter, simpler and cruder version of Hue's romance, possibly written from memory,<sup>130</sup> and indicative of a very different audience from that of Ipomadon A.

Ipomadon A is a polished sophisticated courtly work, relying for its effect on a knowledge and appreciation of the intricacies of fashionable romance, and there is nothing about it to suggest that it is aimed at an audience any less sophisticated than that for which Hue originally wrote. If there is a difference in this respect, it is that in excising the purely ephemeral local and personal content, the Middle English adapter has rendered his material suitable for a larger audience, although not necessarily a less courtly one. On the other hand, it would seem that Ipomydon B is more popular than the stanzaic version in both senses of the term; it survives in more copies<sup>131</sup> and it is a less sophisticated redaction of a courtly original. The details of the plot differences between the two Middle English versions have been fully listed by Mehl<sup>132</sup> and there is no need to indicate more than a few here. A fundamental difference in approach is apparent from the very beginning, B opening with a brief and typical "minstrel" introduction, where A has the courtly love theorising of Ipomedon's "sonde". Throughout, the couplet version is full of details of courtly life, of a kind



which suggest that the author and audience have the idealised interest of spectators rather than that of participants. This version greatly extends the Whitsun feast at the Apulian court (81-108), adds a funeral feast for Ipomedon's father (1537-50), and a lengthy account of the final wedding feast (2220-2274). There is also an additional tournament, to celebrate Ipomedon's dubbing (529-546). This strong interest in feasting and other details of courtly life, provides a good example of the difference in the appeal of the often confused themes of "courtliness" and "courtly" love. For this marked interest in courtly life is not equalled by an interest in the love content of the original. The story of Ipomedon has become an account of knightly adventure rather than of love. The themes of amour courtois are rationalised or omitted, motivation is rendered more logical, the clash between prowess and courtesy, the basic theme of the original, is dropped, and the relationship between Ipomedon and La Fiere is changed greatly, as can be seen in the description of their reunion -

Ipomydon toke hyr by þe hond  
 And told hyr þere, wyth outen fayle,  
 Hyr love had causyd hym grete travaile.  
 2164-6

This is very far from the picture of hesistent lover and proud mistress presented by Hue.

Clearly the author of Ipomydon B had none of the understanding and appreciation of the courtly romance that is evident in the work of the Ipomadon A adaptor. His aim was to render his source comprehensible both in length and content, and suitable for an audience

more attuned to action than to analysis. The result, it has been remarked,<sup>133</sup> is that the couplet version is closer to the tail-rhyme romances in quality and type, than is the tail-rhyme Ipomadon A, which has little more than its metre in common with them.<sup>134</sup> The relationship of each of these independent versions to Hue's original emphasises the complexity of the development of romance from Anglo-Norman to Middle English. On the one hand there is the full length courtly romance, as sophisticated as its Anglo-Norman original,<sup>135</sup> and on the other, a popular abridgement.<sup>136</sup> Something of the same kind of development has been seen at work in the two Middle English versions of the Romance of Horn. But if Ipomydon B and Horn Childe seem to confirm the view that courtly Anglo-Norman romance degenerated into inferior popular versions when turned into Middle English, Ipomadon A, like King Horn, proves that any generalisation along these lines is valueless.



The relationships between the various Middle English romances and their Anglo-Norman counterparts are so varied, and the methods used by their adaptors so different, that it proves almost impossible to draw any general conclusions on these grounds, and indeed each romance has had to be considered quite independently and on its own terms. While only Havelok out of the five main romances is longer than its predecessors, only two, Ipomadon and Horn are shorter, although neither is a simple compression of an Anglo-Norman original, and the remaining two, Guy and Beves, retain the length of their originals. Havelok is thus the only example of expansion, the Middle English version of Beves represents, in most respects, an improvement on the extant Anglo-Norman version, King Horn is an independent version of a tale also used by an Anglo-Norman author, and of the only two direct translations, Guy reproduces a popular success faithfully, while Ipomadon transforms and modernises its original.

The result of such diversity of approach is that, whereas the original Anglo-Norman versions are all members of a cohesive literary corpus with many strong similarities, their Middle English counterparts show a widening in the range of romance style and type.

The question of the popularity of any romance is a complex one, and is made more so by the vagueness of the term. It has already been seen that the idea that romance develops from that for "courtiers" to that for "the common people" does not apply to the Anglo-Norman historical romance, which was always provincial, and by the mid-thirteenth century, increasingly less aristocratic. From the Middle English side of the question, it now seems clear that few,



if any, of the romances discussed were intended primarily for the "common people". The level of sophistication of Ipomadon and King Horn is immediately evident, Beves seems more polished than Boeve, and Guy is, in this respect as in every other, almost identical to its original. Only Havelok shows signs of deliberate popularisation, but even so seems likely to have been more at home in a merchant's house than a market place.

If the other meaning of "popular" is considered, we are on firmer ground, as the number of extant copies provides a guide, albeit an incomplete one, to the demand for a romance. Here again there is no consistent development. Horn and Havelok have the same number of copies in both versions, Ipomadon A has only one copy against two of the Anglo-Norman, but there are two other Middle English versions; Guy, while immensely popular in English, does not match the total of thirteen extant manuscripts in Anglo-Norman; and only Beves shows a positive increase in surviving copies from two fragments to six manuscripts.

When the dates of the various romances in both languages are taken into consideration, the difficulty of trying to establish whether or not a romance has been popularised becomes even more apparent. For example, the two close translations, Ipomadon A and Guy, represent respectively the longest and shortest lapses of time between Anglo-Norman and Middle English versions of a romance; Ipomadon of some two hundred years between the late twelfth and the late fourteenth centuries, and Guy of some sixty years between c.1242 and c.1300. In such cases, the important factor is the lapse of time;

clearly the audience of Ipomadon A would differ considerably more from the audience of Hue's romance than would the audience of Guy from that of its original.

The idea of the popular development of these romances is thus an over-simplification. However, their appeal does tend to become more general. This is not so much due to the development of popular romance from courtly, as to that of a wider audience from a restricted one. This has resulted in many of the changes that have been noted in the presentation and "sens" of the romances. They have become less personal, the author is now anonymous and more reticent, and the material loses its immediacy, becoming either old-fashioned or more exotic.

Thus, while the basic concepts of feudalism are still very much in evidence, they are beginning to become static and formalised and therefore, when a strong emotional effect is required, are reinforced by appeals to concepts of a more general nature. This development would seem to account for the increased pathos with which the children in King Horn, Havelok and Beves are treated, for the development of the villain in King Horn and Havelok, and for the stronger sentiments which Ipomadon A allows its characters. Similarly, as the hero becomes less feudal in his character and function so magic and miracle begin to play a more important part in his achievements.

External developments, among them the decay in feudalism, seem responsible for another change, the substitution of national for



local loyalties, and the introduction of patriotic sentiment. If, as is generally acknowledged, the thirteenth century witnessed the growth of such sentiment, it was in the indigenous historical romance that it took root and found expression.

There is no reason to suppose that such developments are directly connected to the change in language. However, the change to English did radically affect the style of the romances. The examples considered have been enough to show that Middle English did not evolve the style or diction with which to express the essential concepts of romance until well into the fourteenth century. The results are cruder or less precise than their Anglo-Norman counterparts, often replacing complex conceptual analysis with the action to which their style was better suited.

The few changes in content that have been noted seem to be due to a desire to bring the inherited material up to date. King Horn makes its hero less feudal and more chivalric, Beves kills a dragon, and the tournament in Ipomadon becomes a totally admirable affair. These changes are all in respect of the earlier generation of Anglo-Norman romance, later romances such as Gui already including such fashionable ingredients.

But when the developments and minor differences between these romances and their Anglo-Norman counterparts have been taken into account, it remains clear that the basic formula is still potent. In Middle English, as in Anglo-Norman, it produces a body of provincial romance, independent of the literary fashions of the London court, structurally and stylistically competent, with certain themes in common. The feudal values are still important, providing the models



for hero, villain and ideal ruler, although part of their attraction may now lie in their traditional appeal, rather than in any contemporary relevance. The scene of action is still local although the local interest may be merged in the larger concept of nationality. The manners and characters of the French courtly romance are translated into English, but coming as they do through the medium of Anglo-Norman, not only the excesses, but even the frivolities of the classic romances are no longer available.

All this can give some idea of what characteristics in other Middle English romances may indicate the wider influence of Anglo-Norman romance. However, the example of Ipomadon A shows that it is not always this simple, for here a late Middle English author deliberately excises the Anglo-Norman historical content from his romance, so effectively that if Hue's version had not survived, we would never have supposed the original of Ipomadon to have been other than a typical French chivalric romance.

The final question raised by this comparison between the two groups of romances is that of the importance of the change in language. In one fundamental sense it is obviously all-important. The very fabric of the English romances is quite different from that of their predecessors; rhythm, metre, rhyme and diction change radically to give very different results. The ~~the~~ wider effect and significance of this change may have been exaggerated. It is clear that the Anglo-Norman romance tradition was not alien to these authors; it may have been old-fashioned, or at times too narrowly aristocratic, but it is easily assimilated into the widening tradition of Middle English

narrative - and it is worth noting, without any of the self-conscious linguistic and patriotic claims made by some of the English translators from continental French.

Perhaps the main point to emerge so far from a comparison of romances in both languages is that, while the differences between early Anglo-Norman and fully-developed Middle English - exemplified in this instance by the two versions of Ipomedon - are as wide as one would expect, the intervening stages are less clearly defined, the development of romance in the two languages overlaps, and a division on purely linguistic grounds is likely to be confusing rather than helpful.

## CHAPTER 7

### Other Metrical Romances

The next romances that invite consideration are that group for which no extant Anglo-Norman equivalent exists, but which have been generally accepted as deriving from Anglo-Norman originals. In many respects the three most important of these, Athelston, Gamelyn and Richard Coeur de Lion, cover a wide area of Middle English romance. They do not belong to a single stylistic school - Athelston is tail-rhyme, Richard in short rhyming couplets, and Gamelyn in a more unusual long-line couplet. The geographical range is wide, Athelston belonging to Norfolk, Gamelyn to the NE Midlands, and Richard to the SE Midlands, and the dates also vary considerably, from Richard in the late thirteenth century, to Athelston in the late fourteenth. Any relationship they have to the Anglo-Norman romances would therefore be the result of independent circumstances, and would provide a valuable indication that the Anglo-Norman tradition was lively enough to influence works over a span of a century in separate areas.

In view of the extensive editorial and critical effort that has been spent on the question of the relationship of each of these romances to its posited source, it would be superfluous to treat the matter in detail here. But in considering the main lines of scholarly opinion, it is evident from the conclusions reached in the last chapter, that we must view with caution



assumptions about the courtliness of the originals, and the non-courtly quality of the extant romances. As we have by now a clearer picture of the kind of writing typical of the Anglo-Norman period, we may be able to make some additional judgements as to the nature and stage of development of these romances.

The paradox of Athelston<sup>1</sup> has been apparent since Trounce's edition of 1951; the native elements in the romance had long been recognised, appreciated and, as Trounce argued, exaggerated, for in his edition he identifies a number of foreign parallels of which the most important are to be found in the chansons de geste.<sup>2</sup> So Athelston is not an example of a native English tradition finally making its way into literary form, but a consciously literary compilation of legend and traditional story, graced with famous names<sup>3</sup> and presented in a manner that can ultimately be traced back to continental traditions. Trounce concludes that the extant version of the late fourteenth century is preceded by a lost Middle English one, which in turn was taken from an Anglo-Norman version of the thirteenth century.<sup>4</sup> He makes no reference to Anglo-Norman literature other than to a few specific similarities in Amis, but Athelston does show that mixture of pseudo-history and didactic romance which is familiar to us from the Anglo-Norman period, as is the evocation of an idealised pre-Conquest England. So there is still room to enquire whether a study of Anglo-Norman romance in general, as in the first part of this thesis, can throw any further light on the romance.

As with Athelston, Skeat's suggestion in his edition of 1893 that the Tale of Gamelyn<sup>5</sup> had an Anglo-Norman original has not been followed to its logical conclusion. Skeat bases his idea on the parallels he finds between Gamelyn and the Middle English Havelok, and no attempt has been made to examine its likelihood in terms of any similarities between the romance and those in Anglo-Norman. Furthermore, he criticises an earlier editor for assigning the poem by virtue of its content to the thirteenth century, as its language is clearly of the fourteenth.<sup>6</sup> It is of course quite likely that both editors are correct - that the extant version written in the fourteenth century was based on an Anglo-Norman original, dating from the main period of Anglo-Norman romance, the thirteenth. Hibbard later took Skeat to task for suggesting an Anglo-French original for a poem that is "so devoid of the French romantic touch that it is difficult to believe that it emanates from any French original".<sup>7</sup> Evidently Skeat needs defending against such a classic example of confusion between Old French and Anglo-Norman literary traditions, and the case for re-examining the possible antecedents and influences on the poem is also apparent from Hibbard's claim that "Havelok draws clearly on romance tradition, Gamelyn on everyday realities".<sup>8</sup> In view of the often repeated, although generally refuted possibility of a link between Gamelyn and Fouke Fitzwarin<sup>9</sup> her further claim that the outlaw incident is a popular embellishment "frankly incidental to the disinheritance theme",<sup>10</sup> should also be treated with caution. In view of these critical differences, the question of what, if any, elements in the extant Tale can be paralleled in Anglo-Norman, is especially important.



The difficulty of establishing the ultimate source of Richard Coeur de Lion<sup>11</sup> arises not from a scarcity, but from a plethora of material among the widespread and confused traditions that sprang up shortly after the hero's reign.<sup>12</sup> The English romance was originally held to derive from Latin chronicles, until Paris, in his definitive article of 1897,<sup>13</sup> identified it as the redaction of an Anglo-Norman type of romanticised chronicle. He showed his customary perceptive respect for the character and purpose of the Anglo-Norman element, describing the lost original as "un curieux essai, au XIIIe siècle, d'épopée historique anglo-normande".<sup>14</sup> He suggested that this would have been written at a time when witnesses of the events narrated were still alive to contribute their reminiscences to the combination of French epic and miscellaneous crusading legends that make up the poem, and saw as the purpose of the romance the glorification of Richard, "le champion épique de l'Angleterre.... et les Anglais l'ont opposé à ce Charlemagne dont les Français étaient si glorieux." Paris recognised that the anti-French content, which Wells seems to have considered paradoxical,<sup>15</sup> was fully consistent with an Anglo-Norman poem of the later thirteenth century. In short, there is little to add to his argument, except to remark that it is especially convincing in view of the similarities apparent between the technique of romanticising history in this poem, and those of the Anglo-Norman romances.

R. S. Loomis<sup>16</sup> continued Paris's analysis of the poem by reconstructing its development in English, showing that the original Middle English version was Kentish, and that the extant version is the result of a lengthy interpolation by a later



Midland writer. Unfortunately, only a small fragment of this romance survives in the earliest manuscript, Auchinleck, as the sole representative of the Kentish version. Despite the fragmentary nature of the evidence there is still much of interest to our purpose in defining the nature of the English poem as we have it, and its relationship to the "epopee historique".

The common inheritance shared by these romances manifests itself primarily in the subject matter: Athelston and Gamelyn are generally classified as "Matter of England", and this would seem a better classification for Richard also, rather than some sub-division of "Miscellaneous".<sup>17</sup>

In Athelston the plot revolves around the relationship between the four main characters, the sworn brothers of the opening scene - king, loyal baron, bishop and villain, each typical of his kind.<sup>18</sup> Dunn expresses surprise at the unheroic quality of Athelston himself,<sup>19</sup> but we have seen how traditional is the portrayal of a king as weak and misguided, although his correction by the Church is less so, in romance at any rate. The villain has long been recognised as deriving from the stock villain of the chansons, although his character has been developed so that his motives and actions are presented in terms of sin rather than crime - envy, deceit and personal treachery rather than treason and tyranny. Similarly, the loyal baron is not actively good, powerful or just, but characterised by passive virtue, while the active expression of loyal courage is provided by his wife, the mother of St. Edmund. All this, together with the central role of the Archbishop, confirms the ecclesiastical interests behind the extant version of the romance, as does its concern to show

the operation of divine justice in the affairs of men.

Gamelyn is also concerned with justice, although this time of an exclusively secular kind. The plot centres on land and inheritance; while the lands in dispute are no longer kingdoms or feudal fiefs, they are evidently as capable of stirring strong feeling. Certainly the characters resemble those in romances where the lands concerned are of greater extent; the knight, like the king in Havelok, consults advisers as to the execution of his will and the distribution of his lands, and the villain shows the traits of those of the feudal romances - treacherous, tyrannous, manipulating the law to his own advantage, he has none of the dignity of the earlier villains, but neither does he have the sinful character of Wymound in Athelston; his villainy is social, not spiritual, and this is in keeping with the total lack of supernatural or religious material in the tale.

Richard Coeur de Lion is a lively and disagreeable recital of the crusading adventures of Richard, himself very much the centre of interest. Basically written in chronicle vein, it is a highly partial account, liberally salted, especially in the later redactions, with fabulous material, superhuman feats and angelic interventions. It may well make up for its inaccuracy of fact by true representation of contemporary feeling; sentiments of hatred for Saracen and Frenchman alike, and of strong patriotism, are typical of the thirteenth century, and should thus perhaps be attributed to the original poem rather than to the Middle English redactors.<sup>20</sup>



In view of the likelihood of at least one other English version between each romance and its Anglo-Norman source, and considering the many obvious differences of form and content between them and the Anglo-Norman romances, it may be that there is little more to be gained from the comparison than the recognition that the central themes and basic material of these romances are consistent with the theory of their descent from Anglo-Norman originals.

But one point made in this thesis which may affect our reading of these romances, is that the baronial Anglo-Norman romance often spread to a wider audience before translation, which suggests that the gap between the originals and the versions we have may not be as great in either time or type as has usually been assumed. Given the tastes created and catered for by the Anglo-Norman writers, Athelston, for instance, can be seen to have had a ready-made audience and instant appeal, especially by virtue of its pre-Conquest subject. Furthermore, by the time this version of the poem came to be written, chanson material had become so well established in insular romance often, although not exclusively, through the medium of the Anglo-Norman tradition, that the poem may indeed be more 'native' than Trounce allows.<sup>21</sup> So, while the romance as it exists is undoubtedly popular and motivated by ecclesiastical interests, it would have been impossible without the earlier tradition of romance.

A suggestion of an original version closer to the baronial romances, lies in the controversial sector of the poem's presentation of 'historical' events. The attitude to king and court - it is, as Trounce points out,<sup>22</sup> a London, and thus



anti-Westminster poem - is consistent with the brief appearance of the barons of England as allies of the Archbishop, proposing to restore justice by force (528-9). Without entering the disputacious ground of the possible influence of the Becket story on the material, it is perhaps possible to see in this alliance of Church and baronage, a reference to the thirteenth century situation rather than to that of the twelfth.<sup>23</sup> However, among popular elements in the romance must be noted the rise of the two earls to positions for which they are not qualified by birth, and the broad, if embryonic, comedy of the messenger - the other Athelston - who conducts his affairs with cunning and humour, lining his own pockets from the downfall of his social betters.

With Gamelyn, the social level on which the action takes place speaks persuasively about the non-aristocratic origins of the tale. Where Athelston was concerned with kings, archbishops and national events, Gamelyn relates events of a purely local consequence, precipitated by a quarrel over a knight's legacy. However, as we have seen before, to generalise about the 'popular' quality of any romance is to ignore many complex issues. As is the case with Havelok, scenes such as the wrestling and fight with the porter, often cited as evidence,<sup>24</sup> are not intrinsically popular; the wrestling can be traced back at least as far as Wace, and the porter scene to a number of romances including both versions of Bevis. The argument seems to descend to the questionable, if familiar, assumption that a vigorous style denotes popular appeal. If we give further

consideration to the wrestling sequence, we find that Gamelyn's first motive for entering the contest is to win 'worship' as well as the ram and ring prize. But another motive is added by his conversation with the franklin whose two sons have been near-killed by the champion. This is of course a common device to heighten the hero's courage and achievement, but here it also means that Gamelyn enters the contest as a champion of his people, and this almost heroic element is emphasised by the 'flyting' before the contest, in which he boasts of his parentage like any royal combatant of innumerable romances. Despite the claims made about a popular love of action, the actual fighting is given less prominence than this traditional pattern of challenge, boast and the final grudging admiration from the adversary, a pattern which imitates precisely the action on many a more dignified field of battle. Later in the poem there are two instances of the 'priest' jibe<sup>25</sup> which, far from being indicative of a native energy or even of the anti-clericalism which is strong in the romance as a whole, show the influence of the Old French epic or its derivatives. While the romance is completely lacking in feminine interest, Gamelyn's character is not without courtly qualities, from his quest for 'worship' to a suitably reckless version of 'fraunchise'.

Another source for claims about the popularity of this romance seems to be the modern assumption that equates outlawry with 'the people', and here the example of Fouke Fitzwarin, the earliest of the outlaw romances, offers valuable points of comparison. In Fouke Fitzwarin, the outlawry of the baronial



hero is the direct result of the unjust action of a villainous king in wrongly depriving him of his rightful inheritance. In Gamelyn, pace Hibbard, outlawry is again closely bound up with the theme of disinheritance, as is reasonable among classes such as the baronial and the knightly, where it is ownership of land that defines an individual's standing in society and before the law. However, this time the king is associated with the final triumph of justice; it is this, rather than the outlaw theme itself, which signifies a popular element in the romance.<sup>26</sup>

Another episode in Anglo-Norman romance which is relevant here is that in Fergus, in which the hero, wandering hungry through the forest, encounters a gang of outlaws feasting. He seizes food, defending himself in a robust fight with a chicken-laden spit.<sup>27</sup> The scene resembles that in Gamelyn, but the attitude to the outlaws is significantly different: in Fergus they are criminals, in Gamelyn idealised and sympathetic characters.<sup>28</sup>

Fouke Fitzwarin, the latest of the Anglo-Norman romances, provides an interesting precedent also for Richard Coeur de Lion. Close to the lost original of Richard in date, and, it seems, in type, it gives an example of the creation of a historical romance, spiced with fabulous material, shortly after the events concerned. It also testifies that in Richard the Anglo-Norman literary world found, albeit briefly, a real king whom it was prepared to dignify in romance.

Amongst those aspects of the poem which have been readily identified as remnants of the more sober original, are the realistic treatment of detail, the accuracy of time and place, and the interest in actual historical figures, all of which have



been seen as typical of chronicle, and could equally be paralleled in the historical romance. But if the lists of baronial names denote a genuine historical interest, the other side of the romance comes out in the two lists of romance heroes, both of which occur in passages identified by Loomis as belonging to the earlier, Kentish, redaction.<sup>29</sup> The first list comes in the famous prologue in which the author states the purpose of his translation, and is indicative of a wide and accurate knowledge of traditional French literature, listing in reasonably coherent order the heroes of the Charlemagne cycle, Alexander, Arthur and some of his knights, and the heroes of the Trojan romances.<sup>30</sup> The passage testifies that these heroes are famous in romance in both France and England, but only in "Frenssche bookys", and that the author is therefore translating his tale into English for "lewede men". However, although Mehl considers that, to the author, Richard was to be a hero "just like all the others",<sup>31</sup> it seems rather that in choosing Richard the author was deliberately setting out, not only to write in English, but to write about one of the "douzty knyghts of Yngelonde".<sup>32</sup> This does not apply to the second list<sup>33</sup> which, interestingly enough, contains the names of such local heroes as Bevis and Guy, than whom Richard is braver, but not more English. Another hero to figure in this second list is "Ypomadon", despite the fact that there is no evidence for an English version of his romance by this date. Whatever else is to be gathered from these passages, it is clear that the author of the first redaction was familiar with at least the more heroic of the central cycles of French romance.

Among the additions accredited to the second redactor - the Lincolnshire minstrel - is the intriguing one of the two Lincolnshire knights, Thomas Moulton and Foulke Doyly, who are represented, quite unhistorically, as being Richard's closest and bravest companions; the ancestral romance tradition seems to have been long lived.<sup>34</sup> Another addition which is clearly, for reasons we have seen, foreign to an Anglo-Norman chronicle,<sup>35</sup> is the enthusiastic and highly-coloured account of the tournament,<sup>36</sup> in which Richard, like Ipomedon amongst others, participates on successive days in different coloured armour.

Despite their similarities, it is evident that each of these romances stands in a different relationship to its Anglo-Norman source. In Athelston we find many of the themes and characteristics of the earlier baronial romance reshaped for a different purpose and a different audience. As we have it, the appeal of the romance is 'popular' and the purpose behind it ecclesiastical, but it is perhaps in form that it most differs from the historical romance tradition. The didactic core is presented, stripped of all but the most cursory detail and totally devoid of the inconsequential excursions so typical of the romance; Athelston, in fact, is a moral tale, not a romance. However, it is possible to see how it could have derived from an original which was much closer to the traditional romance. This is not the case with Gamelyn. It is difficult to see how this could have been derived from the baronial Anglo-Norman romance, but on the other hand it shows too many affinities with the historical romance to have come into existence completely independently of it.



It seems that here we have the unusual occurrence of a romance written in conscious imitation of an aristocratic romance, but closely tailored in material and treatment for the specific audience - in this case surely not a popular audience, but one of country gentry and lesser knights. The reconstruction of Richard shows a process of deterioration and popularisation, its hero and subject matter giving it a wide appeal at the time of the Kentish redaction which was increased by the later addition of fantastic elements. All in all, it would seem to be the popular rendering of a theme widespread in chronicle, but also probably represented in an historical romance, or a type indicated by the developments among those of the thirteenth century which have survived. Its popular level is apparent, not only in its lack of courtliness, but, more unusually, in the absence of any refining element whatsoever, whether moral or literary.

In considering these three romances, we seem to concur with the theory, previously rejected in this thesis, that the development of romance from Anglo-Norman to Middle English is one of popularisation and degeneration, as this certainly applies to Richard and to some extent to Gamelyn and Athelston also. However, as the last chapter has shown, it is as much a mistake to assume that an Anglo-Norman original is necessarily courtly as to take too drastic a view of the 'popular' level and appeal of romances such as these. What the study of these romances, as representative of many more, does suggest is that much more work is needed on the thirteenth century, the most fruitful period of Anglo-Norman romance, and the cover into which much editorial game goes to ground.



These romances therefore represent the final stages of the historical romance and it is clear that we shall not find among them works of a social and literary stature comparable to those in Anglo-Norman. But before concluding that this is the logical and actual end of the earlier tradition, we must look elsewhere for the true heirs of the Anglo-Norman tradition. For in romance, true heirs are never to be found in the most obvious places.

CHAPTER 8The Alliterative Revival

We have seen that Anglo-Norman literature produced a corporate body of romance, characterised by certain themes, attitudes and types of subject matter, aimed at a particular audience, and fulfilling a definite social and literary function. The direct heirs of this tradition, those Middle English versions of Anglo-Norman romances, have been analysed to show the later development of the historical romance. The question remains as to whether the decline of this important body of provincial literature left a vacuum, and if so, what came to fill its vacant place. For the decline in Anglo-Norman romance was to some extent an artificial one, caused not by the genre having run its course and become archaic and irrelevant, but by external causes, by a change in the pattern of patronage and by the disintegration of the Anglo-Norman dialect itself. This being so, the disappearance of Anglo-Norman romance did leave a vacuum - although this was not a sudden development: the romances continued to be copied and circulated well into the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> But these romances did provide a tradition of courtly independent provincial literature, serving the needs and reflecting the interests of an audience which, while separate from the London court, was far from unsophisticated, and which appreciated lengthy, well-structured romances with a conservative, insular and often local flavour. Clearly this suggests that the decline of the Anglo-Norman romance with its well-defined character and audience, could have been an important contributory factor to the development of the literary movement known as the Alliterative Revival.<sup>2</sup>

The poems of the Alliterative Revival include some of the greatest of the Middle English period - Piers Plowman, Sir Gawain and Pearl, the Morte Arthure - and a host of second-rate works which would be outstanding in any other company - Golagrus & Gawain, St. Erkenwald, Patience, Parliament of the Three Ages and Winnour and Wastour amongst them. The common denominator is alliteration: a version of the Old English form, often adapted to the newer fashion of rhyme and stanza, sometimes, more surprisingly, in an unrhymed long line recalling more closely the classical form of Old English verse. The development of this verse form, its relationship to that of pre-Conquest England, and the metrical influences at work in these poems, are the questions of most immediate and perplexing importance about the whole 'revival', and as such have received much scholarly attention.<sup>3</sup> This has inevitably led to the poems being treated together, and valid as this approach is for a metrical study, its assumptions have influenced critical approaches to the content and interpretation of the poems, often with less fortunate results. Much criticism has thus been concerned to establish generalisations valid for the 'revival' as a whole,<sup>4</sup> and in the attempt much of interest and difficulty has been glossed over. For, distinct as they are from the rest of Middle English literature by virtue of their form - and even this distinction can be exaggerated - when all the poems that make up the Alliterative Revival are considered, their range confounds attempts at all but the most rudimentary generalisations: little of value can be said about Piers Plowman that also applies to Chevelere Assigne. It is now necessary to deal with the poems



individually, or in smaller groups, so that the variety of elements that go to make up the alliterative literature of the period may become clearer. This thesis is limited to a consideration of the romances among the alliterative poems,<sup>5</sup> and obviously they draw on literary sources and traditions very different from those behind, for example, the Parliament of the Three Ages. Indeed, it could well be that an investigation into the Anglo-Norman traditions of political and didactic literature could raise some important issues, but this is beyond the scope of the present inquiry.<sup>6</sup>

Even within the restrictions of romance, the range of the alliterative poems is wide. With three exceptions, the dozen or so romances of the Alliterative Revival are of a historical nature. The exceptions - William of Palerne, Chevelere Assigne, Joseph of Arimathie - are all taken directly from French romance, and are the earliest of the alliterative romances. This suggests that the independent quality and the historical tendencies of the alliterative romances developed later than the fashion for the alliterative style itself. The remaining romances consist of the four Arthurian poems, ranging from the chronicle type Morte Arthure to the classic romance of Sir Gawain, three fragments on the life of Alexander, the Destruction of Troy, and the Siege of Jerusalem. A common approach to choice and treatment of sources is discernible, and as a body these romances indicate a particular interest on the part of the audience, and one very different from that catered for by the contemporary metrical romances.

The historical nature of these romances suggests that it might be worth investigating any possible relationship between

them and the Anglo-Norman historic romance, the literature of an earlier generation of the provincial courts.

One of the most favoured theories as to the cause of the Alliterative Revival, which has only quite recently been shown to be unlikely,<sup>7</sup> is that of the "literature of baronial discontent".<sup>8</sup> While it is a distortion of historical fact to apply this idea to the literature of the latter half of the fourteenth century, it is a term which could more aptly be applied to the Anglo-Norman romances of the previous century. Then the appearance of local romance was indeed in response to a feeling of independence, if not of discontent, on the part of the baronial patrons of the romances. The result was a particular literary fashion, and it may be possible that it is the literary characteristics of this movement which lingered on, to be taken up by the alliterative poets at a time when the political climate was very different, thus propagating attitudes which to an unwary modern mind may suggest contemporary baronial opposition. The Anglo-Norman writers had created a provincial version of the fashionable romance, and had built up an audience, at first among the major baronial families, but soon spreading to the lesser nobility and the bourgeoisie. That the alliterative poems appealed to the same audience, and showed an even more remarkable literary independence, is not inconsistent with a lessening of the strong assertion of baronial identity which was the original motivation for the Anglo-Norman romance.

The material used by the two groups of romance writers differs significantly; the Anglo-Norman writers were content to draw on local legend, or even to fabricate "history" from a

mixture of traditional themes, and then to attach the finished product to a hero who added lustre to the patron's family or lands. The poets of the Alliterative Revival drew on more learned sources, including the Latin of Guido da Colonna and the Historia de Preliis, and their sense of the division between history and fiction seems to have been more fully developed, if sometimes inevitably misapplied. For the most part, the motive of the localised 'ancestral' type of romance has passed with the generation that commissioned it. The impression made by the baronial romance of self-interest and of latent propaganda is much rarer. The "message" is moral or religious, rather than social or political, the significance of the action is of general, if no less serious application. But the secondary characteristics of the historical romances are evident in the alliterative poems; there is attention to precise details of time and place, and in the manner of chronicle writing, war and public events are treated with a realism that distinguishes the historical romance. This realism and sense of authenticity affect the use of the supernatural; with the obvious exception of Sir Gawain, the alliterative romances avoid the supernatural unless it is made acceptable by a religious element. Thus there is room, as in Anglo-Norman romance, for miracles and for prophetic dreams, but not for the magical or irrational. Even the theme of the superiority of age over youth, which has been seen as peculiar to the alliterative tradition,<sup>9</sup> is common in Anglo-Norman writing,<sup>10</sup> and here also both groups of romances contrast with the traditional courtly romance.



All this contributes to the quality of seriousness which, perhaps more than any other, distinguishes the alliterative romances from their contemporaries, and gives them their corporate identity.<sup>11</sup> This seriousness takes various forms; it may be simple piety, or lessons drawn from scenes of historic grandeur, an investigation of the tragic consequences of pride, or of the deepest implications of courtesy. Such variety is in itself remarkable, and another indication of the high quality of talent behind the Revival.

The Anglo-Norman and alliterative romances are distinguished from the majority of the Middle English metrical romances as much by their technical competence as by their content. It is when they are compared with the romances of France that their independence of approach becomes most apparent. In the case of the alliterative romances, this is especially marked with those which derive from French originals, and a study of these by W. J. Barron,<sup>12</sup> reaches some conclusions which are of interest here. In romances such as William of Palerne and Chevelere Assigne which have comparable French sources, the alliterative authors seem to be interested in adventure rather than sentiment, and to feel uneasy with the conventions of fin'amors and chivalry, reacting with a tone of practical logic or of mockery. The Arthurian romances are discussed more fully below, but where they too can be compared with French sources, the same process is evident, the poets showing a preference for realism before fantasy, heroism before chivalry, and what can be generally termed epic material rather than that of the courtly romance.

This is particularly evident in the attitude to fin'amors, which Barron summarises as one of distaste, often of positive rejection. In the portrayal of chivalry he finds a deliberate change of emphasis, arising from a fundamentally different concept of the relation between the chivalric code and real life, a concept which consistently veers towards realism rather than idealism.<sup>13</sup>

Finally, the terms in which Barron describes the nature of alliterative romance are significant, more so in fact than he appreciates, as he is exclusively concerned with the comparison with continental French literature:

That they, writing in the fourteenth century, should prefer story-matter uncontaminated by romantic elements, suggests a conception of narrative poetry closer to that of Wace than to the dominant tradition of the roman courtois. 14

That he should mention Wace at this point is particularly interesting in view of the centrality of the Brut to the Anglo-Norman romance tradition. There is of course no proof that any of the alliterative authors, other than the Morte Arthure poet, knew Wace's chronicle, but the resemblance to the work of those later followers of Wace is even closer.

All this suggests that the character of alliterative romance, often seen as a preference for epic rather than romance material and attitudes, is not only inherent in the alliterative form itself, but also tailored for a particular audience. Furthermore, it would seem likely that this audience is similar in composition and taste to that for the earlier romance in Anglo-Norman. It could therefore be argued that any resemblance between the two groups of romances may be due to the consistency of the audience rather than to any direct literary influence.

In line with recent work on the Alliterative Revival we are therefore led to the conclusion that, from whatever angle the question is approached, it is the audience that holds the key to the existence and nature of the alliterative poems. So N. F. Blake argues that the Alliterative Revival is remarkable not so much for its exclusive use of alliteration, which had been used consistently in both verse and prose since the Conquest, but for the number and quality of the works involved, and he concludes that this achievement is due to a change in audience and the increased professionalism of the poets.<sup>16</sup>

Such evidence as the poems themselves provide indicates a baronial or knightly class of patrons. The clearest statement comes in William of Palerne, where the author tells how his translation was commissioned by Humphrey de Bohun, Duke of Gloucester.<sup>17</sup> The index to the Destruction of Troy tells of the knight who caused the Latin of Guido to be translated into English.<sup>18</sup> It is of perhaps greater interest to the present argument to note that the subject matter of Chevelere Assigne<sup>19</sup> suggests that it may have originated as a late example of the ancestral romance fashion. It is a short extract from the Godfrey de Bouillon cycle, telling of the origins of the Swan Knight, a legend which had had a special significance in England since the reign of King Stephen. By the fourteenth century the Swan Knight had been adopted as a legendary ancestor by several noble families, among them the Bohuns and the Beauchamps.<sup>20</sup>

In dealing with the question of why the Alliterative Revival occurred when it did, Hulbert remarks that "the obvious answer would be that before that date (1350) the barons and



ladies were entertained by French literature".<sup>21</sup> It is clear by now that this would be more accurate if re-phrased as "literature in the French language", but certainly the existence of the earlier baronial literature may be an important factor in the timing of the Revival, or at the least, with that part consisting of romance and historical writing.

For, despite some differences, the basic interests and values of the alliterative romances reflect those of the Anglo-Norman historical romance; the courtliness of the original audiences, their provincial interests and enthusiasm for old-fashioned customs and ethics are consistent. The linguistic preferences of the country aristocracy may have changed, but not their attitudes or prejudices. Above all, both bodies of romance reveal an independence of outlook, an interest in literary fashions that are deliberately separate from those of London and the court, a tendency to adopt conservative form and content but not to accept the kind of second-rate versification which critics now call 'popular' romance. This indicates that whether or not there was direct influence from Anglo-Norman romance, the alliterative poets inherited the audience which a century earlier had provided that for the historic romance, an audience for which the Anglo-Norman romance had been designed, and which expected, and received, similar attitudes and literary standards from the poets of the Alliterative Revival.

When we come to consider these poets, certain similarities to the Anglo-Norman period again become apparent. As is common in Middle English romance, few are named, but by contrast with the metrical romances, these reveal the imprint of their authors'

personalities. The relationship between author and work seems more direct than is usual in the metrical romances; we do not have the impression of a series of redactors at work, each moulding the original material to his own ends, until it becomes truly anonymous, but of a single individual often with a highly personal approach to his material.<sup>22</sup> It is perhaps depriving them of this refreshing individuality to generalise, as Shepherd does, about "our alliterative poet",<sup>23</sup> but they do have certain features in common. All indications point to their being clerics in noble households, or possibly in the case of the Morte Arthure author, country clergy.<sup>24</sup> They are well-read in three languages, and of an unashamedly bookish turn of mind, acquainted with religious, historical and political writing as well as romance literature. For the most part, although anonymous, they are not reticent; like their Anglo-Norman predecessors, they impose their own interpretations on their material, address their audience directly, and move with confidence amid the moral and material complexity of courtly society.

Between the productive period of Anglo-Norman romance, which ended in the middle of the thirteenth century, and the beginning of the Alliterative Revival, there is a lapse of a century. It is a century full of significance for the development of the insular romance: the Anglo-Norman romances continued to be copied and circulated, and the fame of their heroes spread throughout society and into works in English. But many of the families who had set the fashion for this romance were extinguished virtually within a generation, and with them the impetus behind the romances. At the same time, the linguistic balance between

French and English was finally shifting. At the end of the Anglo-Norman period Middle English romances were hesitant, experimental and simple works; by the mid-fourteenth century, Middle English could be used confidently for complex works for sophisticated audiences.

Because of this intervening century there is no proof of direct contact between the two groups of romances, with the possible exception of the lost Fouke Fitzwarin. But the indubitable similarities between the Anglo-Norman romances and those of the Alliterative Revival suggest that a comparison might well be helpful, if only to establish a context within which the Revival can be seen as a not altogether unexpected development; a context in which audience and literary precedent are available, and a tradition of courtly writing, independent of both the London court and the fashions of France, well established. We need to re-examine assumptions such as those that lie behind McKisack's remark that the Alliterative Revival sprang from regions which had been "almost silent for over 500 years".<sup>25</sup>

This raises the question of the geographical distribution of both groups of romances. Anglo-Norman romance, originating as it did in baronial circles, cannot be limited to any one region, although several of the romances did originate in the north and west.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, the relationship between the romances shows that they were no more restricted to one part of the country than were their patrons and their lands. On the other hand, Middle English dialectology prefers to work on the assumption that any poem lives and dies, so to speak, in its native village;



the Alliterative Revival has thus been located to the nearest river bank,<sup>27</sup> although recent studies suggest that it extended from the North-West to the East Midlands, and that individual works circulated extensively within this area.<sup>28</sup> More work needs to be done on the question, and the example of St. Erkenwald alone is enough to confound too localised a theory. Again the question rests on that of the audience, for the higher its members were in the social scale, the more mobile they would be. Until more is known about the background of alliterative poetry this question cannot be resolved, but it is significant that with the Alliterative Revival as with the Anglo-Norman romances, it is the nature of the original patrons and audience that provides the clue to the works themselves.

Whatever conclusion is reached, it is clear that at the least the Alliterative Revival marks the second appearance in England of a body of local romance, provincial and courtly, written in full knowledge of the tradition of the courtly romance of France, but with a tendency to hark back to the epic. Furthermore, the nature of the audience for the alliterative romances is such that the divisive effect of language differences would be far less than is usually assumed.

The comparison between Anglo-Norman and alliterative romance shows that although the particular form of alliterative poetry, with its origin in native English poetics, has led scholars to seek for an explanation of the Revival within the limits of works written in English, there is comparable material closer to hand in the Anglo-Norman tradition. This brings us back to the central problem of the Alliterative Revival which is

that of the style itself, its relationship to that of the Old English period, how it developed in the intervening centuries, and why it reappeared when and where it did. There are many complex issues behind this problem which are beyond the scope of this thesis, but within its limits one point that has not perhaps been fully considered, becomes apparent.

Literary historians tracing the development of the epic are accustomed to working across frontiers of time, place and language, the common denominator in epic poetry being so strong as to make such an approach viable. We are therefore used to parallels being drawn between Old English and Old French epic poetry; Ker's comparison of the battles of Roncesvalles and Maldon comes to mind.<sup>29</sup> The hindsight of centuries enables us to perceive equivalents, laws and similarities; we should perhaps be willing to allow such perception to those 'bookish' men of the later Middle Ages, engaged in the translating and reworking of earlier native and foreign literature.

The classic form of the Old French epic is that of the ten or twelve syllable line gathered into monorhyme laisses of varying length. From the mid-twelfth century it gave way before the new fashion for the octosyllabic couplet, although the formulaic phrases of the chansons were retained, fragmented and adapted for the couplet form, but still unmistakable, to embellish scenes of grandeur and battle. This is evident in the Anglo-Norman octosyllabic romances, and we have also noticed that some version of the laisse form continued to be used for a small, but significant number of works throughout

the Anglo-Norman period and into the fourteenth century. The use of the *laisse* for material of a heroic or epic nature is most apparent towards the end of the reign of Henry II, when three romances, Horn, Boeve, and the Roman de Toute Chevalerie, from which the Alexandrine line derives its name, all use the form of the chansons to some effect. The Old French epic is also recalled, probably deliberately, in the Chronique of Jordan Fantosme, and in the mid-thirteenth century the unknown author of William Longespee, who seems to have had access to a copy of the Chanson de Roland, uses the style and sentiment of that poem for his account of the death of the Earl of Salisbury on crusade.

Anglo-Norman writers also chose the *laisse* style for serious religious works. Guischart de Beaulieu's heavily didactic Sermon, written in this style in the late twelfth century, was popular enough to survive in four thirteenth century manuscripts.<sup>30</sup> Bible stories were written in *laissez*,<sup>31</sup> and also some saints' lives - and here again the evocation of heroic poetry is probably deliberate. Strangely enough, all the saints' lives known in this form are those of English saints - two lives of Edward the Confessor, one fragmentary, the other lost, a life of Becket, and Paris's life of St. Alban.<sup>32</sup> An anonymous thirteenth century allegorical account of a visit to the otherworld also survives in this form.<sup>33</sup>

Such works have little in common apart from their gravity of tone and, for the most part, their independence from the literature of the court. But a closer connexion is apparent between a series of chronicles from the eastern counties,



beginning with that of Fantosme, which survives in two manuscripts - Durham, dating from the early thirteenth century, and Lincoln, from the end of the century. From the same part of the country comes a little known translation from a Latin chronicle of Peterborough Abbey, the "Geste de Bruch", dating from the early fourteenth century and, as the name suggests, treating the history of the Abbey from the time of Penda as a chanson de geste of which the institution itself is hero.<sup>34</sup> Later Anglo-Norman chronicles were usually written in prose, but at the beginning of the fourteenth century, Peter Langtoft, canon of Bridlington, turned Wace's couplets into alexandrine laisses, possibly under the influence of Fantosme.<sup>35</sup>

What we have in Anglo-Norman literature therefore is the preservation of the distinctive style of Old French heroic poetry in a few works, and as formulaic phrases in many others. This parallels the fortunes of the alliterative style before the Alliterative Revival, with the many instances of alliterative "tags" to be found in early Middle English literature, and the occasional attempt to produce the classic form, of which Layamon's Brut is the outstanding example. Both forms are contaminated by the later fashion for stanzaic verse, several of the Anglo-Norman works being in regular monorhyme stanzas rather than true laisses. It is also worth remarking that the types of literature for which the laisse in one form or another was used, are those for which the Middle English alliterative long line was later to be used. The reason for this could well be that in each language the long, sonorous form of early medieval writing was more suited to solemn or grandiose topics than the

brisker rhyming couplets and stanzas with their association with secular courtly literature. In each case the use of the long line and its derivative forms marks a separate development from that of the court literature, and a conscious archaism often accompanying historical material. There is, of course, a considerable difference in literary achievement when we come to consider the poetry of the Alliterative Revival. With the exception of the twelfth century works, the *laisse* is used by Anglo-Norman writers who are provincial in the worst sense of the word, and produces only minor works. To find a parallel to the Alliterative Revival after Anglo-Norman has ceased to function as a major literary language, we have to look to France, where the national sentiment aroused by the Hundred Years' War stirred the chanson tradition to a final effort, resulting in works such as the Chanson de Bertrand de Guesclin in 1384.<sup>36</sup>

Interesting as such parallel developments of the two epic metres of the vernaculars of England may be, what is of more purpose to our argument is the question of at what point, if any, they converge, and whether or not the equivalence which is apparent to us was also apparent to contemporary writers.

The first indication of this comes, not from the alliterative poems themselves, but from certain of the metrical ones. We have seen that the author of Ipomedon A translates the chanson-style formulae of his original by equally formulaic alliterative phrases.<sup>37</sup> As a northern poet writing at the close of the fourteenth century, he is in a position to be acquainted with the alliterative style, and the occasions on which he uses it

are significant. Unlike his Anglo-Norman original, he does not use alliteration for rhetorical effect or mere decoration, but to inject his courtly romance with a sudden sense of vigour and solemn heroism - as Chaucer does in the Knights Tale; the potency of the heroic style survives even in its fragments. We can detect the same process at work in another northern poem of the late fourteenth century, the Seege off Melayne.<sup>38</sup> Although the exact source has not been traced, it clearly owes its origins to the chansons,<sup>39</sup> and again the Middle English is heavily alliterated. This suggests that some Middle English translators, including the author of Ipomedon A, an unusually able and perceptive writer, recognised that the special quality of the traditional phrases of the Old French epic was essentially untranslatable, and moreover that English had an equivalent style. Their tendency to use alliterative formulae for heroic scenes is not necessarily due to an acquaintance with traditional heroic poetry - it could as well be due to the simple realisation that alliteration is effective in such scenes, and to the new fashion set by the poems of the Alliterative Revival. Certainly such works, coming as they do from the fringe of the alliterative movement, can contribute much to our understanding of its development.

The second possible point of contact between the fashion for laisses and that for the alliterative long line, is the Morte Arthure. As a chronicle poem taken from vernacular sources and dealing with insular history, it is unique among the poems of the Alliterative Revival, and is also of a more easterly provenance, being associated with the Lincoln area.<sup>40</sup> This area, as has already been stated, saw a minor, but consistent, tradition



of chronicle writing in the *laisse* style, by clerical and monastic authors. One of these, Langtoft, has been named as a possible source for the Morte Arthure, and other sources for minor episodes in the poem are Fierabras and the Voeux de Paon, both written in long line *laisse*s.<sup>41</sup> It is perhaps worth considering, therefore, that the author's choice of the alliterative style, to which the poem owes its special quality and virtues, may have been prompted by the awareness of local precedents for long line verse chronicles, and by the examples among his sources of a style which was the equivalent of the alliterative line.

The third indication of a similar process is Chevelere Assigne. This odd little poem does not fit well into the general pattern of alliterative romance; it is pious and courtly, but also delicate, fanciful and magical; and makes little use of the resources of the alliterative style. But behind it lies the lengthy Godfrey de Bouillon cycle, and in particular the Chevalier au Cigne - written in alexandrine *laisse*s. Barron's comparison of the two shows that the English author is a timid translator, heavily dependent on his source. Perhaps this is the reason why he chose to adopt the long line as the nearest equivalent style to the *laisse*s of the French.

It remains to be seen whether any of the general observations made here about the possible relationship between Anglo-Norman romances and those of the Alliterative Revival hold good when applied to the individual alliterative romances. There are two main obstacles to establishing this relationship - the lapse of time between the two groups of romance, and the change of

subject matter. Both are probably most evident in the four Arthurian poems of the Revival, and so it is to these that we turn our attention.

With the Arthurian romances of the Alliterative Revival, we return to subject matter which we met last at the beginning of this thesis, with the works of Wace, Thomas and Marie de France. For it is a fact worth noting, and the more so for the lack of attention given to it, that between the death of Henry II and the appearance of several Middle English Arthurian romances in the mid-fourteenth century, there is almost no Arthurian romance in either vernacular in England, and the little there is - Fergus, Arthour & Merlin, Ywain & Gawain - is closely derivative of French romance. Yet this is the time of the great Arthurian romances of France and Germany, and of the growing fashion for Arthurian pageantry. In England it is an era of extensive romance production, first in Anglo-Norman, then in Middle English. What is more, we have seen that the two literary works of the Angevin court to have most impact on this later romance are the Brut of Wace and Thomas's Tristan, both of them at least partially connected to the legend of Arthur. Yet the reaction against Tristan resulted in only one attempt to create a more acceptable Arthurian romance in Fergus, and the many imitations of Wace extolled not Arthur, but local heroes.

It is generally argued that the lack of Arthurian romance in England, and the development of the Matter of Britain in France, is due to the status of the English language. The class interested in such romance, it is suggested, preferred its romances in French. This is true, but that same class was by no means dependent on imported French romance; it produced its own, and at no time with more energy than in the half century following the death of Henry II. Yet Arthurian romance is left to continental writers.

When consideration is given to the conditions under which Arthurian romance and the general interest in Arthurian material flourished, the character and background of Anglo-Norman romance, as described in the first part of this thesis, offers some explanation of this omission. For, whereas the Anglo-Norman romance was a product of the baronage, the Arthurian legend was consistently promoted as an expression of royal prestige and ambition.

The record of royal patronage for Arthurian literature begins with Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia, dedicated, with more pragmatism than consistency, to both Robert of Gloucester and King Stephen.<sup>42</sup> However, the relationship between Geoffrey's work and the royal house went beyond that of casual patronage. It has been shown that Geoffrey deliberately endowed the Kings of England with an ancestor equal in dignity to Charlemagne, founder of the House of Capet,<sup>43</sup> and that he was motivated, at least in part, by a desire to promote the imperial ambitions of the Norman dynasty,<sup>44</sup> providing precedents for later territorial claims, precedents which were to be taken up with enthusiasm



by the Plantagenets.<sup>45</sup> It has also been suggested that he adopted the practice of cloaking contemporary reference in legendary history, especially in the Arthurian section where, for example, his condemnation of Modred can be taken to apply to Stephen.<sup>46</sup>

That Arthurian literature, both historical and romantic, flourished at the court of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, is well known. The Angevin court was in the forefront of the patronage of the new romance; the works of Thomas, Wace, Beroul and Marie de France bear witness to an interest which extended, through the influence of Eleanor's daughters, to the work of Chretien and other continental writers.<sup>47</sup> The fashion of the Arthurian cult was not confined to literature. The "Breton hope" of Arthur's survival and return, a long-standing political embarrassment for the Angevins, resulted in Henry's quarrel with the Bretons over the naming of his grandson, Geoffrey's son,<sup>48</sup> and to the fortunate "discovery" of Arthur's tomb at Glastonbury.<sup>49</sup> The way was thus open for the process of setting up Arthur as the British answer to Charlemagne to be completed, a process towards which Wace's courtly vernacular chronicle contributed almost as much as had Geoffrey's solemn Latin history a generation earlier.

So, when with the deaths of Henry II and Eleanor, the court patronage of insular literature ceased, the interest in Arthur continued under different forms. Richard I paid a visit to the Glastonbury tomb in 1191,<sup>50</sup> and presented Arthur's sword, Caliburn, to Tancred of Sicily in the same year.<sup>51</sup> There is no such evidence for John, other than a reference to Tristan's sword,

Curtana, amongst his regalia,<sup>52</sup> but from the court of Henry III, another monarch with little interest in secular literature, come the Chertsey Tiles, depicting the Tristan legend,<sup>53</sup> and the decorated "Arthur's Hall" and "Guinevere's Chamber" of the royal castle at Dover.<sup>54</sup> The Anglo-Norman poem "Rossignos", written for Eleanor of Provence, shows that the queen was familiar with at least the reputation of several Arthurian heroes.<sup>55</sup>

But it was Edward I - "a political realist who recognised the value of historical propaganda"<sup>56</sup> - who exploited the Arthurian legend with an energy even exceeding that of Henry II. In 1278 he opened the Glastonbury tomb, in 1283 presented Arthur's crown, one of the spoils of his victorious Welsh campaign, in Westminster Abbey, and in 1301 laid before the Pope a claim to the throne of Scotland, citing Geoffrey of Monmouth on the submission of the Scots to Arthur.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, that he had not only an instinct for the telling political gesture, but also a genuine enjoyment of the pageantry of Arthurian romance, is apparent from his enthusiasm for Round Tables.<sup>58</sup>

The development of that form of tournament known as the "Round Table", is of some considerable interest as it occurs at a time in the thirteenth century when other evidence of Arthurian interest is comparatively scarce. It is also important to the present discussion as it has often been taken as proof of baronial enthusiasm for Arthurian pageantry.

The history of the tournament in England is long and chequered. Although, with a brief exception during the reign of Richard I, it consisted of frequent royal prohibition, occasional licences, and even more occasional fines, the tournament

proved a popular pastime and impossible to eradicate.<sup>59</sup> As a realistic training for war, and one which put the baronial households on a war footing,<sup>60</sup> it acquired a distinct political significance, emphasising the cleavage between the court and the baronage. During the thirteenth century in particular the tournament thus became "a focus for baronial discontent.....often thinly veiled pretexts for baronial conspiracy or war, as may be seen in 1215 after Runnymede, in 1219 at Brackley, in 1228 at Chepstow."<sup>61</sup>

The style and history of the "Round Table" was very different. It was from the outset a gentler affair than the tournament, consisting of jousting with blunted weapons, feasting and dancing.<sup>62</sup> It arrived comparatively late in England; the first one recorded being at Cyprus in 1223, from where the fashion spread to Flanders, Bavaria, Spain and the rest of Europe,<sup>63</sup> eventually reaching England in 1252. This was the famous occasion at Walden, when scandal arose over the death of one of the combatants.<sup>64</sup> Another Round Table apparently "sat" at Warwick in 1257,<sup>65</sup> but it is not until the reign of Edward I that they seem to have become established fashion.

The lapse of time between the literary appearance of the Round Table in Wace's Brut, and the imitation of it in England has led some historians to regard as a vital link a writ of 1232 forbidding the holding of a Round Table on account of the Welsh wars:-

"the writ of 1232 forbidding the first Round Table known to have been arranged implies some degree of familiarity and sympathy with the Arthurian legends in the English baronage. Its occurrence is a welcome link between the Waldon meeting of 1252, and the Round Table of King Arthur's knights which had been introduced to the English literary world about 1150."



The link is indeed valuable, but as we know nothing at all about the circumstances under which the proposed Round Table was to be held, nor who was to attend, there seems to be little ground for using it as evidence of baronial enthusiasm for Arthurian pageantry, unless supported by later developments. But, in sharp contrast to the tournament, the Round Table seems to have become an occasion for a display of royal splendour and a symbol of monarchical power, as might be expected from a re-enactment of the court of Arthur.

The royalist character of the Round Table becomes clear during the reign of Edward I. The famous Round Table given by Roger Mortimer at Kenilworth in 1279, the year after the opening of the Glastonbury tomb, was a thoroughly courtly and extravagant affair, with Edward himself as guest of honour.<sup>67</sup> Mortimer, it is to be noted, not only claimed Arthurian ancestry for himself, and thus had an interest in promoting the cult,<sup>68</sup> but had for some time been a staunch supporter of the royalist cause, and much hated by his fellow barons.<sup>69</sup> Evidently impressed by this occasion, Edward adopted the Round Table as an excuse for royal display, holding one at Nefyn in 1284<sup>70</sup> to celebrate victory over the Welsh, and another in 1302 at Falkirk to mark the defeat of the Scots.<sup>71</sup> The account given by the Flemish chronicler Van Velthem of the Arthurian pageantry of Edward's wedding celebrations in 1299 include three interludes recalling the king's triumphs over the Welsh, the Scots - and the barons.<sup>72</sup>

Some five of the eight Round Tables recorded in the thirteenth century are known to have taken place in the presence of Edward, and often to have been organised by him.<sup>73</sup> Of the

remaining three, the Walden meeting was a set battle between English and foreign champions, apparently lacking the elaborate Arthurian pageantry of a later date, and the other two were both held at Warwick where, if they were held under the aegis of the Earl, they would have been organised by royalist supporters as was the Kenilworth occasion in 1279.<sup>74</sup>

It has been necessary to discuss the Round Table of the thirteenth century at some length because, as an example of Arthurian pageantry, it has been used to support a theory of consistent baronial interest in the Arthurian legend from the time of Henry II. But, just as the Round Table differed considerably in character and function from the tournament, so it seems did its political significance. Whereas the tournament was a breeding-ground of baronial discontent, the Round Table soon became the entertainment of the court and of the king's party. Nor do we find in thirteenth century England any of the Arthurian tournaments, as distinct from Round Tables, that appeared on the continent at this date.<sup>75</sup> When this evidence is taken with that from other forms of contemporary interest in the Arthurian legend, a pattern emerges which is more consistent with that noticed in the romance.

Arthur, a paradigm of kingly power, had been recognised as a valuable royal symbol as early as the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and was fostered as such by kings from Henry II to Henry VIII.<sup>76</sup> Arthurian romance, therefore, like other manifestations of the fashionable Arthurians, archeological or imitative, was not, as in France, a fanciful amusement, but was an expression of centralised royal power. That the cult of

Arthur was deliberately encouraged by successive kings for their own purposes is generally accepted. That the converse might also be true, that opposition to the monarchy could be a reason for the scarcity of Arthurian literature in England, has not, as far as I know, been suggested before.

We have already seen how the literature of the barons reacted to the excessive fin'amors of the courtly version of Tristan. It would seem that there was a similar reaction to the Arthurian vogue at the Angevin court. For when the patronage of romance fell exclusively into the hands of the baronial class, a group of patrons not interested in adding to the renown of a symbol of royal power,<sup>77</sup> the romance writers, with one exception, rejected the Arthurian material in favour of that dealing with local heroes. The reply to the royal promotion of Arthur, the ancestor of the Angevin line, is the appearance of a rash of local heroes, of Horn, Havelock, Guy and the rest, establishing ancestries of the utmost respectability for their patrons, and at the same time providing examples of independence and individual achievement. The exception is, of course, the romance of Fergus, written by a French author for an Anglo-Norman patron, which combines the chivalric Arthurian romance of France with the English fashion for dynastic heroes in a local setting. The patronage of Alan of Galloway may well be significant here; his record of consistent support for the crown suggests that he would not have been averse to the royalist associations of the romance.<sup>78</sup>

For a time, between the death of Henry II and the reign of Edward I, the baronial heroes seem to have won the day, and



except for the chroniclers the interest in Arthurian material passes to France, a state of affairs lamented by Robert Mannyng in the mid-fourteenth century:

In alle landes wrot men of Arthur,  
 Hys noble dedes of honour:  
 In ffraunke men wrot and yit men wryte,  
 But herd haue we of hym but lyte;  
 þer-fore of hym more men fynde  
 In farre bokes, als ys kynde,  
 þan we have in þis lond. 79

It is not until romance writing in English has become well established that the story of Arthur is again treated by English authors, and when Arthurian romance, as distinct from chronicles, do begin to appear in English the earliest are still translations or adaptations from the French - Arthour & Merlin, Ywain & Gawain, Sir Percyval of Galles. Not until the latter half of the fourteenth century are independent Arthurian romances to be found in English, and then it is amongst the poems of the Alliterative Revival.

The only one of these to deal directly with the career of Arthur is the Morte Arthure,<sup>80</sup> one of the most important poems in the alliterative style. Written in the late fourteenth century,<sup>81</sup> by an educated, clerical author,<sup>82</sup> it is, both in style and content, a polished, courtly and sophisticated work, aimed, like other alliterative poems of the time, at an equally sophisticated audience. It is also archaic in style and diction, localised in setting, and provincial in outlook. In all these respects it resembles the Anglo-Norman historical romance of the previous century, and indeed it shares with them its main source<sup>83</sup> - the Brut of Wace. Yet in its subject matter the poem departs from the traditions of the historical romance,

taking as it does the account of Arthur's reign from the chronicles to make a self-contained and well-formed narrative. In so doing, it poses several problems of classification and interpretation for its critics, especially concerning the poem's ambiguous portrayal of Arthur. It remains to be seen whether the knowledge gained from an analysis of the earlier historical romances, and what this tells us about the development of Arthurian romance, can be used to cast any light on these problems.

There is some disagreement among critics as to whether or not the Morte Arthure can be called a romance at all. It does not appear in Mehl's comprehensive account of the Middle English romances, and William Matthews, the only scholar to treat the poem in the detail it deserves, concludes that it is a fortune tragedy.<sup>84</sup> Clearly it is an uncooperative work, on the one hand so traditional in style as to bear comparison with Old English epic, on the other, so original in content as to break out of the confines of medieval narrative genre. In this, also, it resembles many of the other poems of the alliterative movement.<sup>85</sup> It is worth noting some of the reasons that have caused the poem's critics to doubt whether it can be called a romance.<sup>86</sup> The main problem is the 'heroic' quality of the work, the masculinity of the society and values it portrays, the absence of chivalry in favour of feudalism, of the adventures of a lone knight in favour of international, often religious, conflict, and the complete absence of love as a motive force. Because of this, the poem has been variously seen as a descendant of the Old English epic,<sup>87</sup> and of the Chanson de Roland.<sup>88</sup> Matthews sees

in the poem's realism an attempt to establish historical truth and contemporary relevance, which distinguishes it from the normal romance set in "a world free from the normal restrictions of time, geography and economic necessity." In particular he remarks on the lack of fantastic supernatural, on the "employment of contemporary ideas on kingship, succession and war", the last of which receives an unvarnished, if not positively antagonistic treatment that he considers one of the most significant characteristics of the poem.<sup>89</sup>

The fact that some of these characteristics resemble those of the earlier historical romances, suggests that the poem may not be as isolated a work as has been supposed.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, some more detailed resemblances occur in passages added, by this poet or another,<sup>91</sup> to the basic material supplied by Wace. Thus the poet expands the precise geographical settings of the action, already indicated in the chronicles, to set the action firmly in Carlisle, the Welsh Marches or York.<sup>92</sup> As in the Anglo-Norman romances, this kind of precision of setting is accompanied by precision of time, and a taste for exact detail. The charge entrusted to Modred, for example, is spelt out with a feeling for administrative detail lacking in the chronicles:

Chauncelere and chambyrleyne chaunge as the lykes,  
 Audytours and offycers ordayne thy seluene, -  
 Bathe jureez, and juggez, and justicez of landes,  
 Luke thow justyfye theme wele that injurye wyrkes:

660-663

and this is equalled by Sir Cradok's account of Modred's abuse of power:



He has castelles encrochede, and corownde hym sleuene,  
 Kaughte in alle the rentis of the Rownde Tabille;  
 He devisede the rewme, and delte as hym likes; 93  
 3525-3527

It is a kind of detail, and a concept of treachery mixed with tyranny, with which we are familiar.<sup>94</sup> Familiar also is Arthur's assurance of a safe conduct to the senators of Rome, recalling as it does the "red-gold" theme:<sup>95</sup>

Thoghe thy cofers ware fulle, cramede with syluer,  
 Thow myghte be sekyre of my sele sixty myle forthire" 477-478

Indications such as these, minor as they are, help to identify the poem's literary bearings. Unique as it is in Arthurian tradition and English romance, it is not an isolated work. If the tradition of historical romance is taken into account, the origin of some of the poem's characteristics become clearer. The mingling of chronicle material - of political and geographical detail and a realistic treatment of war - with romance episodes, such as the slaying of the giant, and the Gawain-Priamus encounter, can be paralleled in many of the Anglo-Norman romances. So can much of the 'heroic' element and the claim of historical veracity. In fact, if the definition of romance is wide enough to include Horn, Fouke Fitzwarin and Waldef - as it must be - then it is wide enough to include the Morte Arthure.

It is only after we have recognised which aspects of the poem are traditional in this way that its originality stands out in sharper relief. Thus the realistic treatment of 'historical' material in the guise of romance is not remarkable; but such treatment of the story of Arthur is. And not only is the author's choice of subject matter a departure from the tradition in which

he is writing, but his interpretation of that subject is equally unprecedented.

Two basic ideas lie at the heart of this interpretation of the story of Arthur: the concept of Fortune, and that of the Round Table and Arthur's relationship to it.

The first of these, the poet's most conspicuous innovation, has attracted much scholarly attention,<sup>96</sup> and need not concern us at the moment other than to remark that the introduction of Fortune offers a moral rationale for the fall of Arthur, and at the same time dictates the thematic and formal structure of the poem.<sup>97</sup>

The other fundamental concern, the relationship between Arthur and his Round Table, has attracted less attention. It is not original; since Wace introduced the Round Table the adventures of Arthur and his knights, in both chronicle and romance, had been conceived of in terms of this ideal fellowship. But the concept varies, and in the Morte Arthure it is given an importance and intensity scarcely equalled, even by Malory. It is from the power of this concept that the main narrative, the tragic fall of Arthur the king, draws its poignancy and meaning, and I would suggest that the poet's treatment of it can be traced to his position as an heir to the historical romance tradition.

For, as has already been stated, one of the main problems in the poem is the ambiguity of its attitude to its hero. Arthur is no simple ideal figure, whether of the heroic or romantic type; his actions come in for considerable implicit criticism, and it is often given to other characters to act as the focus

for the poem's action and meaning. The mixed origins of Arthurian literature, and the nature of its development are such that any single work inevitably abounds in ambiguities and often downright contradictions. However, if the suggestion as to the development of Arthurian romance in England made in this thesis is accepted, it provides at least a partial explanation for the ambivalent attitude of the Morte Arthure. For if it is accepted, then the problems facing the fourteenth century author become clearer; he has to assimilate Arthur's literary personality into the conventions of provincial romance, to reconcile this symbol of royal power with a literary tradition of baronial origin, and to make his material acceptable to an audience used to regarding Arthurian romance as something alien.

As we shall see, other writers of the Alliterative Revival attempted no such reconciliation. This poet apparently achieves it by his own very individual rendering of the Round Table - at once old-fashioned, idealised and highly relevant. The result is a steadier balance between the dominant figure of Arthur and the fellowship of his knights than is achieved by any other writer, including Malory. But the tensions and ambiguities remain to give the poem its complex and enigmatic character.

In Wace's account the Round Table is seen as a centre of international culture, of civilised and ordered court life. Its values are courtly and the expression of them decorative.<sup>98</sup> In the Morte Arthure it is envisaged in more personal terms - hence the rather misleading parallel sometimes drawn with the Anglo-Saxon dugub<sup>99</sup> and its duties are more functional. Arthur's court is splendid still, and indeed seldom more so than in the



accumulated alliteration of the opening scene; but the importance of the Round Table extends beyond these celebrations and beyond the court itself, to a military fellowship with an almost executive function.<sup>100</sup> Above all, as a summary of the poem will show, the poet's interest in this ideal is apparent in the dominance he allows it not only over the action of the poem, but also over much of its emotion.

The poet's own introduction to his work is revealing; it has attracted critical attention for its unusual length and elaboration and for its religious sentiment,<sup>101</sup> but what seems to have escaped notice is the poet's account of his subject:-

Harkynes me heyndly and holdys yow styllle,  
 And I salle telle yow a tale, that trewe es and nobyllle,  
 Off the ryealle renkys of the Rownde Table,  
 That chefe ware of cheualrye and cheftans nobyllle,  
 Bathe ware in thire werkes and wyse mene of armes,  
 Doughty in theire doyngs, and dredde ay schame,  
 Kynde men and courtays, and couthe of courte thewes,  
 How they whanne wyth were wyrchippis many,  
 Sloughe Lucyus the lythyre, that lorde was of Rome,  
 And conqueryd that kyngryke thorowe craftys of armes;  
 15-24

It is only after this that Arthur himself is mentioned (line 26); indeed the only logical interpretation of these lines is that he is himself included in the membership of the Round Table, and it is evident that he is regarded in this version as primus inter pares to an extent quite foreign to the chronicles and earlier romances. It is, of course, consistent with the feudal theory that a lord should be surrounded and supported by his lieges, to whom he turns for both military help and consultation, but throughout the poem this idea is treated with deliberate emphasis. Even the Romans recognise the unusual importance of Arthur's knights:

I make the somouns in sale to sue for thi landys,  
 That on Lammesse daye there be no lette ffoundene,  
 That thow bee redy at Rome with alle thi Rounde Table,  
 Appere in his presens with thy price knyghtez,

91-94

This extension of the summons to include the Round Table is to be found in neither Wace nor Geoffrey, and seems to have troubled Malory, who omits it.

In the first part of the poem, giving the events leading up to the Roman War, we are thus shown Arthur and his knights in an ideal feudal relationship. The poet draws heavily on established tradition, recounting neither the founding of the Round Table nor the wars at the beginning of Arthur's reign, but opening his poem with a scene depicting the splendour of Arthur's court, a splendour which reflects on the Round Table as well as on the king. The challenge from Rome is directed to both, and is taken up after the council scene in which the lords declare their allegiance and Arthur acknowledges in strong and emotional terms, his reliance upon them:

Alweldande Gode wyrchipe yow alle!  
 And latte me neuere wantte yow, whylls I in worlde regne;  
 My menske and my manhede ye mayntene in erthe,  
 Myne honour alle vtterly in other kyngys landes;  
 My wele and my wyrchipe, of alle this werlde ryche,  
 Ye have knyghtly conqueryde, that to my coroune langes;  
 Hym thare be ferde for no faees, that swylke a folke ledes,  
 Bot euer ffresche for to fyghte, in felde whene hym lykys.  
 I accounte no kynge that vndyr Criste lyffes,  
 Whilles I see yowe alle sounde, I sette be no more.

397-406

This speech is to be found in Wace where it occurs at the opening of the conference. It is given less prominence, and the sentiments expressed differ significantly:

Barun, dist il, ki estes ci  
 Mi compainun e mi ami,  
 Compainun de prosperité,  
 E compainun d'adversité,  
 Se grant guerre m'est avenue,  
 Vus l'avez od mei sustenue.  
 Si jo ai perdu ou cunquis,  
 L'un e l'autre avez od mei pris.  
 De ma perte estes parçunier  
 E del guaaïn quant jo cunquier.  
 Par vus e par vostre adjutorie  
 Ai jo eũx mainte victorie.  
 Menez vus ai en maint besuin  
 Par mer, par terre, pruef e luin;  
 Tuz tens vus ai truvez fedeilz  
 En affaires e en cunseilz;  
 Mainte feiz vus ai espruvez  
 E tuz tens vus ai buens truvez.

10779-10796

Here Arthur is the world conqueror addressing his followers; the "aider et conseilier" theme is strong, but he maintains his superior dignity while admitting their partnership in his adventures. It is a calm oration, totally lacking the strong emotion of the Middle English, conveyed in the succession of superlatives - "neuere".. "vtterly"... "alle"... "euer". The emotion is strengthened by the deliberate poetic irony introduced by the poet when Arthur prays that he should never lose the support of his lords, and states that he fears no enemy - "Whilles I see yowe alle sounde". The ground is being carefully prepared for the precise nature of both the achievement and the tragedy to come.

The importance of the Round Table is stressed throughout the episode of the Roman war by the frequency of its occurrence in a variety of alliterative formulae, evidently coined by this author for the occasion but used so often as to acquire a formulaic quality.<sup>102</sup> The repetition of phrases such as "the ryalle renkkes of the Rownde Table", "the renkes renownde of



the Rownde Table", "the ryalle rowte of the Rownde Table" is remarkable enough, but it is even more so when we realise that in none of the previous chronicles is the term used collectively to describe Arthur's knights in battle. The term is kept for courtly scenes; in battle they become "li Bretun".

The war against Lucius is thus presented as taking place between the Round Table on the one hand, and on the other the pagan forces of Rome and her allies - and here the influence of the chansons is very evident. The honours of the action are equally divided; the individual knights play a greater part than in the chronicle tradition,<sup>103</sup> but to Arthur himself goes the credit for the death of Lucius.<sup>104</sup> Except for the two episodes of the giant of St. Michael's Mount and the Gawain-Priamus encounter, the action does not follow the pattern of romantic individual adventure usual in Arthurian romance, for it is here that the heroic element in the poem first becomes prominent. The standard is one of corporate action and loyalty rather than of individual prowess - even Gawain and Cadur who are at the centre of much of the action, are portrayed as leaders cast in the same mould as Arthur himself. The emphasis is still on the relationship between Arthur and his knights and on the mutual advantages that underlie it; they are the source of his power and he is their inspiration -

Thynk one the valyaunt prynce that vesettez vs euer,  
With landez and lordcheppez, whare vs beste lykes;  
That has vs ducheres delte, and dubbyde vs knyghttez, 1726-8

although even here Cadur adds -

Thynke one riche renoune of the Rounde Table,  
And late it neuer be refte vs fore Romaine in erthe;  
1732-3

Acting in concert, Arthur and the Round Table conquer Europe, defeating Lucius and overrunning Lorraine and Tuscany - the knights seem as unaware as the king of the distinction between just and unjust wars. The high point is reached at Viterbo:

Reuelle with riche wyne, riotes hym selfene,  
 This roy with his ryalle mene of the Rownde Table,  
 With myrthis, and melodye, and manykyne gamnes;  
 Was neuer meriere men made one this erthe! 3172-5

The narrator has fulfilled his initial promise to relate how the Round Table "whanne wyth were wyrchippis many".

The two scenes of celebration - that at Carlisle with which the poem opens, and this at Viterbo - act as a frame round the first part of the poem, the account of the successes of Arthur and his knights, the ascent of the wheel. With the next line the atmosphere changes -

Bot one a Seterdaye at none.... (3176);

Offered the complete submission of Rome, Arthur plans to be crowned there and to be "ouerlynge of alle that one the erthe lengez" (3211). In this fatal expression of pride a new note is sounded, that of personal ambition, so far lacking in the poem, and it marks a separation in the ambitions of the king and his lords. This is borne out by the vision of Fortune. One of the first sights in the dream is of

lyons full lothely lykkyde theire tuskes,  
 Alle fore lapyng of blude of my lele knyghtes 3234-5

After this Arthur is, for the first time in the poem, alone. The vision that follows concerns his personal rise and fall on the wheel of Fortune, and the interpretation of his "philosophre", and the poet, is that his fall is due to his own personal sin of pride. Yet in the event, as in the dream, that

fall is preceded by the destruction of those nearest to him, and that destruction is the bitterest part of the tragedy.

The instrument of retribution is the treachery of Modred. It is here that the Round Table is again collectively concerned, for his treason is partly directed against them:

He has castelles encrochede, and corownde hym seluene,  
Kaughte in alle the rentis of the Rownde Tabille;  
3525-6

This combines with the crusading zeal of Arthur's knights against the alien - and infidel - army that Modred has gathered so that the first battles against Modred do not seem to be solely over the right to the throne. Gawain once again becomes an independent figure of considerable stature, inspiring his men not, this time, with the thought of the king and his cause, but with the promise of heaven.<sup>105</sup> The death of Gawain, and the threnody spoken over his body by Modred, are generally recognised as the poet's most successful expansions of his material.<sup>106</sup> But the regret felt by Modred, himself a complex and interesting example of the traditional villain, is not for the king he has betrayed, but for the Round Table:

When that renayede renke remembirde hym seluene,  
Of reverence and ryotes of the Rownde Table,  
He remyd and repent hyme of alle his rewthe werkes,  
3892-4

It is the Round Table, now in disarray, that provides the emotional centre of the action.

The identification of the bloody vision of Arthur's dream is complete with Gawain's death, and, as in the dream, he becomes a solitary figure in the centre of the action. The poet has expanded his source material almost out of all recognition<sup>107</sup>



to give a moving and dramatic description of Arthur's grief, and in his desperate display of sorrow over Gawain's body the "royalle roy of the Rounde Table" begins, at last, to show his humanity.

The final battle takes place amid an atmosphere of doom, well conveyed by this poet, and retained to even greater effect by Malory. It is here that the mutual contract of the feudal ideal receives its fullest expression in Arthur's speech to his knights,<sup>108</sup> in the heroic speech of Idrus,<sup>109</sup> and Arthur's reply -

Qwythene hade Dryghttyne destaynede at his dere wille,  
That he hade demyd me todaye to dy for yow alle"  
4157-8

The same emotion governs the end of the poem. Only in this version does Arthur gather together the bodies of his knights - and here the poet invents a lengthy list of names - and speak a solemn planctus, in which he reiterates the earlier themes:

Here rystys the riche blude of the rownde table,  
Rebukkede with a rebawde, and rewthe es the more!  
I may helples one hethe house by myn one  
Alls a wafull wedowe, that wanttes her beryn.  
I may werye & wepe and wrynge myn handys,  
For my wytt and my wyrchipe awaye es for ever  
4281-6

In the totally masculine world of the poem this image stands out with immense force, stressing that the real tragedy lies not in the personal calamity, as suggested by the Fortune passage, but in the destruction of an idealised relationship. As the most recent editor has pointed out,<sup>110</sup> this passage marks the poetic close of the work. The death of Arthur remains to be told, but it is comparatively unimportant. Nor is there any attempt to resurrect the "Breton hope", for the Bretons never claimed that Gawain, Cador and the rest would return and without them, in the world of this poem, what is Arthur?

But the poem has one more surprise. Seven score men survive from the destruction of the Round Table, not two as in some other versions. They take Arthur to Glastonbury where he dies and is ceremoniously buried by "the baronage of Bretayne". (4328) The court which buries him is remarkably similar to that which had attended him at Carlisle:

Relygeous reueste in theire riche copes,  
 Pontyficalles and prelates in precyouse wedys,  
 Dukes and dusszeperis in theire dule-cotes,  
 Cowntasses knelande and claspande theire handes,  
 Ladys languessande and lowrande to schewe;

4334-7

In no other version is the continuity of society so clearly expressed, and it is an idea fully consistent with the poet's interpretation of his material.

This summary does not claim to do justice to the poem's scope and complexity, but it does serve to isolate and identify a major theme and one which is especially relevant to our investigation. The poem's ambivalent attitude to Arthur has attracted much critical attention,<sup>111</sup> but from what we have seen of the fortunes of the Arthurian legend in England such an attitude is only to be expected. Arthurian romance seems to have been deliberately neglected, and the associations which had gathered around the legendary monarch would not commend him to some audiences, especially as resemblances between the Morte Arthure and the earlier historical romances suggest that, like them, it may owe its attitudes to the traditions of baronial romance. This would seem to be confirmed by the importance laid on the Round Table theme in this version.

The various transformations undergone by the Round Table in the course of its literary career would provide material enough for a separate study. In Wace it acts as a flattering mirror for the Angevin court, providing an ideal of the new courtly civilisation, centred on the figure of Arthur the king. In the French romances it becomes a centre of chivalry, from which individual knights take their standards and their quests and to which they report their adventures. In the Morte Arthure it has two distinct meanings. Firstly, in imitation of life, Arthur is shown to 'hold' Round Tables,<sup>112</sup> presumably celebratory occasions like those fashionable throughout Europe. But the most important meaning is the original one of the fellowship of knights nearest the king. It is an idealised fellowship, the corporate identity of which is more important than the individuals within it. It is a feudal ideal, not a chivalric one, and as such deprives Arthur of some of his personal stature.

In this emphasis on the dependence of the king on his lords can perhaps be seen the contribution of the baronial ideal to English Arthurian literature. And closely allied to it is the interpretation of Arthur's fall, which causes the destruction of this ideal relationship. The cause of the tragedy is, superficially, treason; and in this the poem reveals its debt to heroic tradition. But the fundamental cause is the personal ambition of the king, which separates him from his knights, and is emphasised by the introduction of the moral force personified in the "duches".<sup>113</sup> This is the basis of the critical attitude of the poem towards its hero, and the cause of its ambivalence. For it seems rather anachronistic to interpret the poem as an



anti-war tract, especially as the progress of the Round Table and their leader across Europe is related with considerable relish as well as realism; it is not until it becomes a search for personal glory that the note of doubt and failure creeps in. So the fault of the king destroys those nearest him, and when they are gone he is left desolate and powerless. Yet after the disaster, and here the poem is unique, the society remains.

It is an admirable compromise between contradictory inherited attitudes; on the one hand the legendary and dominant figure of Arthur, and on the other the independent traditions of historical romance. The Morte Arthure marks a brief moment in the development of the Arthurian theme, in which the balance between Arthur and his knights is held steady, each relying on the other for existence and importance. It is perhaps a sign of the immediacy of the problem he has solved that the author does not fully recognise and express his own achievement - it is left to Malory to crystallise the nostalgia for the fellowship of the Round Table:

'Now', seyde the kyng, 'I am sure at this quest of the Sankegreall shall all yeof the Rownde Table departe, and nevyr shall I se you agayne hole togydire, therefore ones shall I se you togydir in the medow, all hole togydire! Therefore I wol se you all hole togydir in the medow of Camelot, to juste and to turney, that aftir youre dethe men may speke of hit that such good knyghtes were here, such a day, hole togydire.' 114

A consideration of the Morte Arthure in terms of Anglo-Norman historical romance proves valuable in several ways. It reveals the poet as a creative artist of some stature, who is less isolated than has often been held. It also provides, incidentally, a forceful reminder of the power of fully developed Middle English poetic style - the sweeps and emphasis of the alliterative verse takes the chanson theme of global struggle, latterly so faint and unconvincing in the Anglo-Norman romances,

and transforms it into a vivid, compelling and, above all, dramatic account of defiance and conflict. The credit for this can only go to the alliterative poet. He himself, however, provides a valuable comment on his literary background, when Arthur is told -

So many clerkis & kynges salle karpe of youre dedis,  
And kepe youre conquestez in cronycle for ever!

3444-5

So far the legend of Arthur had been the province of monastic chronicles, often reflecting royal interests. In the Morte Arthure this legend, with claims far greater than those of Horn, Havelok, or Guy of Warwick to the attentions of English audiences, at last attracted the talents of a creative writer, who freed it from the limitations of chronicle, and rendered it acceptable to a wider audience than ever before.

The three other Arthurian poems of the Alliterative Revival centre not on Arthur himself, but on Gawain. The choice of Gawain from among the knights of Arthur's court is significant. Although a major figure in many French romances, if more often as secondary rather than primary hero, it is in the north of Britain that he belongs as a local hero. The choice of Gawain is therefore a nice compromise between the conventions of Arthurian romance and those of insular romance; there are no alliterative poems extolling Launcelot, or even Tristan.

The setting of these romances, however, is that of the time and court of Arthur, and it remains to enquire to what extent, if any, they are affected by the ambivalent attitude towards Arthur, which we have suggested contributed much to the complexity of the Morte Arthure, and whether, like that poem, they reveal any points of similarity to the historical romances

The Awntyrs off Arthure<sup>115</sup> is the one of these romances most likely to be derived in part from the Morte Arthure.<sup>116</sup> Probably written in the last quarter of the fourteenth century in the Carlisle district,<sup>117</sup> it relates two episodes concerning Arthur and his knights. It is structurally weak, although the division of the action into two episodes of identical length suggests a deliberate policy, but there are some thematic links binding it together. In the first half of the poem, Gawain and Guenevere encounter a ghost of the queen's mother, who issues warnings against luxurious living and unjust wars, prophesies Arthur's downfall, and asks for masses to be said for her soul. In the second half, Sir Galeron of Galloway challenges Arthur's court, because his lands have been seized and given to Gawain. Gawain accepts the challenge, and is on the point of defeating Galeron, when Arthur stops the duel in response to the entreaties of Guenevere and Galeron's lady. Galeron admits defeat and yields his homage and his lands to Gawain. Arthur again intervenes, offering Gawain extensive alternative lands if he will restore those in dispute to Galeron. Gawain does so, Galeron joins the Round Table, and masses are said for the repose of the ghost.

Any discernible influence from the Morte Arthure is confined to the first episode, in which the criticism of the ghost is, like the explicit criticism of the Morte Arthure, of a religious and moral nature. In both poems it is the pride of Arthur, his unjust wars and ambitions of conquest that come in for condemnation, and here the lust and luxury of court life also. It is a straightforward piece of didacticism, notable



mainly for the vivid manner in which the alliterative style is applied to the contrasting descriptions.

The second half of the poem, however, while equally didactic, is concerned with matters of feudal ethics rather than personal morality, with injustice rather than sin. Matthews maintains<sup>118</sup> that the second episode deals with the dangers and wrongs of imperial warfare, thus echoing the tenour of the ghost's warnings, but this part of the poem is concerned with the abuse of feudal rather than imperial power. The conflict between Arthur and Gawain and Galeron revolves round ownership of land and homage; the problem is the old one of the relationship between feudal lord and liege and the solution is a mixture of conciliation and practicality, as Galeron, an independent potentate, is gradually assimilated into the scheme of centralised royal power. The two halves of the poem are thus not linked so closely as Matthews would suggest, nor for the same reason is the portrait of Arthur as consistently unflattering as he claims, for while he is condemned as conqueror, as feudal ruler he is shown to dispense true justice. Similarly, while the first half of the poem castigates luxurious living, the setting of the second is richly courtly, and the luxury of the court is a reflection of the courtesy of the three main characters.<sup>119</sup>

As no direct source has been found for the second part of the poem,<sup>120</sup> it would seem possible that it may have originated as an historical romance in which a local hero fought for and won his lands. Certainly the romance is distinguished by its local feeling, both for the countryside around Carlisle and for

the lands of Galloway - "kingdom of the greatest Gawain"<sup>121</sup> - over which the two knights fight. If so, this romance was later reworked and attached to a clerkly denunciation of Arthur, courtly life and unjust war. The effect of this together with the ghost's prophecies of Arthur's downfall, is deliberately ironic. However, the irony remains the strongest link between the two halves of the poem, and Matthews' reading, welcome as it is as the only recent treatment of the poem, tends, in its attempt to show the unity of the poem and its dependence on the Morte Arthure, to distort what is basically an old-fashioned feudal romance with an overlay of crude religious didacticism.

Golagrus and Gawain<sup>122</sup> is the latest of these poems, dating from the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>123</sup> Like Awntyrs, it shows the court of Arthur caught in a situation of moral dubiety, although here the specifically religious didacticism is absent. Matthews again points out that the themes of the unjust war and of Arthur's "surquidrie" and imperialism are important,<sup>124</sup> but again they are by no means the only issues raised in the poem. If it were not for the close proximity of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, this romance would be appreciated more for its subtle and dramatic handling of complex material.

Like the Awntyrs, it falls into two separate episodes, rather more firmly connected than those of the earlier poem. In the first section, which is far the shorter, comprising as it does some 220 of the poem's 1360 lines, Arthur and his knights, travelling through Italy en route for the Holy Land, seek food and shelter from a rich city. Kay is sent first to the lord of the city, conducts himself with his usual boorishness, and returns

with a refusal of hospitality. Then Gawain tries his customary courtesy, and gains a warm welcome for Arthur and his court. Here the contrast between Kay's rudeness and Gawain's courtesy, traditional in Arthurian romance, is the main theme, but the character of the nameless lord and the richness of his castle provide an important minor theme which also links with the second and main part of the poem. In this, as Arthur and his army progress onward through Italy they come across an impressive castle which, they learn, belongs to a certain Golagrus, who owes homage to no overlord. Incensed by this example of flagrant independence, Arthur vows to bring Golagrus to subjection, and sends an embassy, led by Gawain, to achieve this by persuasion. Golagrus politely refuses to betray the independence maintained by his ancestors, whereupon Arthur determines on war. Spynagros, a knight with local knowledge, warns him that Golagrus will not be easily defeated, and the war indeed proves bloody and both sides suffer heavy losses. Eventually Golagrus and Gawain meet in a lengthy combat, in which Gawain eventually prevails, only to be dismayed by his adversary's refusal to surrender, Golagrus preferring death to dishonour on the battlefield. Gawain's magnanimity proves equal to the situation, however, as he agrees to feign defeat and is taken to Golagrus's castle, supposedly as a prisoner, to the dismay of Arthur and his knights. There he is warmly received and Golagrus pays him homage. Gawain leads Golagrus and his people back to Arthur, who receives Golagrus's homage and accepts his hospitality. After the court has been feasted for ten days they go on their way, Arthur first restoring to Golagrus his full freedom.



Comparisons of the poem with its original in the French prose Perceval le Gallois,<sup>125</sup> show that a number of complex issues, of which that of feudal homage and independence is only the most obvious, are deliberately created from a basically simple chivalric romance. Both episodes follow the same pattern: Arthur and his court are challenged by outsiders who claim a disturbing moral superiority, and only Gawain can defend the reputation of the Round Table. The first is an enquiry into the nature of courtesy, effected by the contrast between Gawain's true courtesy and the false superficiality of Kay -

Thare come ane laithles leid air to this place,  
With ane girdill ourgilt, and uthir light gere;  
It kythit be his cognisance ane knight that he wes,  
Bot he wes ladlike of laitiss, and light of his fere"

157-60

This traditional contrast is complicated by the emphasis laid on the nameless lord and the rich courtliness of his castle, for throughout the poem rich interiors and courtly behaviour belong not so much to Arthur's court, as to those isolated castles it passes. Thus while Kay and Gawain illustrate courtesy and its opposite, the courtliness of the lord is above suspicion, providing the standard by which even Gawain is judged.

In the Golagrus episode, within the conflict between tyranny and freedom, there is another which probes the idealised society of Arthur's court more deeply. It is that between courtesy, exemplified by Gawain himself, and honour - expressed as "pris", "lois" and "worship"<sup>126</sup> - and represented by Golagrus. Gawain's courtesy, established in the first episode, is emphasised throughout the poem,<sup>127</sup> and dramatically confirmed at its climax. He is the best representative of the Arthurian tradition, but Golagrus provides a more subtle contrast than Kay.

Like the lord in the first episode, he rules a rich and civilised provincial court, moreover he has the love of his people and is shown to consult them fully.<sup>128</sup> His defiance of Arthur, conducted with great dignity, is expressed in terms of historical precedent rather than personal pride.<sup>129</sup> And there is no doubt as to his moral superiority over Arthur; and on the same grounds he even presents a serious challenge to Gawain.

Most of this part of the poem consists of lengthy descriptions of fighting, first of the general battle, then of the combat between the two main contestants. It is a virtuoso performance by the poet, exploiting the rich resources of the alliterative style, but it is never divorced from the moral issues. Despite the repeated warnings of Spynagros,<sup>130</sup> Arthur commits his followers to a battle in which a deliberate point is made of the catalogue of the death and maiming of members of the Round Table.<sup>131</sup> The traditional realism of the historical romance, very different from the treatment given to the passage in the French original, gives this battle more weight than the courtesy theme can bear; Gawain's manners seem less suitable on this battlefield than the blunt heroics of his adversary. The validity of the new chivalry is questioned by this juxtaposition with an older, simpler scale of values.

Gawain wins the combat, as much by the advice of Spynagros as by his own valour; and his good nature proves stronger than his pride in his military reputation - and here there is another sharp contrast with Arthur. However, it is Golagrus's concept of honour that forces this gesture of ultimate courtesy from

Gawain. Finally this heroism gains recognition; and Gawain's courtesy proves its educative value, as Arthur restores Golagrus's hereditary freedom in a gesture which, like that at the end of the Awntyrs, considerably improves the king's personal standing.

It is clear that this poet delights in dramatic moral contrasts personified in the various protagonists. Of the Arthurian court, three figures are drawn in detail: Kay, the traditional buffoon; Arthur, modelled on the Charlemagne type of king, cruel, overweening, and sadly incapable of action;<sup>132</sup> and Gawain, an admirable figure caught in an ambiguous situation. Against these are set the three outsiders: the unnamed knight of the first episode, who proves to be Kay's superior in both courtesy and strength; Spynagros, whose choric remarks and wide knowledge serve to emphasise Arthur's faults and confusion; and Golagrus, a feudal hero, whose stubborn defence of his own code of values questions the chivalry not only of the Round Table, but of Gawain himself.

The author has created an interesting and complicated ethical conundrum, and one which proves beyond his powers to resolve. Instead of facing the implications of Gawain's apparent physical and moral superiority, he takes refuge in a series of platitudes about the inevitability of destiny and Fortune,<sup>133</sup> which, while largely irrelevant, do enable him to conclude his poem. However, insoluble as the problem proves to be, the credit for its creation must go to this author, and his free adaptation of his source material.



The first point to emerge from a comparison of Golagrus & Gawain with its source is the author's technical achievement in extracting a short, self-contained and consistent narrative from his long and intricate original. The freedom with which he re-interprets the sens of the original is even more notable; he transforms the game-like siege of the French romance into a grimly realistic war which, as we have seen, enforces his moral argument. He builds up the character of Golagrus, adding lengthy description of his character and his feudal standing, to provide Gawain with a challenger of equal worth. But, above all, he completely transforms the meaning of the combat and the dilemma it creates. In the French version it revolves around the knight's standing in the eyes of his "amie"; in the English all mention of love and of the lady herself are omitted, and the motivation lies in Golagrus's rigid concept of honour. The author has thus changed his original into a conflict between feudal and chivalric values, a conflict which is made the more convincing by his refusal, or failure, to allow one system of values the final victory.

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight<sup>134</sup> is probably the earliest of these romances, and its incomparable stature means that it is rarely compared with the others, although there are similarities which suggest that, at the very least, the poems share a common traditional background.<sup>135</sup> We will confine the immediate discussion to those aspects most relevant to this question and, while this will not do justice to the intricacy and original genius of the romance, it may serve to illuminate something of both.

The only northern Gawain romance before Sir Gawain is Fergus,<sup>136</sup> and in view of this it is worth noting the similarities between the two. Both follow the classic structure of the roman d'aventure, relating the adventures of a single hero, who leaves Arthur's court on a quest of self-discovery, tests his strength against natural and supernatural forces, and finally returns to the court, a more perfect chivalric hero than when he set out. In Fergus, of course, Gawain is only the secondary hero; he is ousted from his position as local Galwegian hero by the direct ancestor of the patron, although interest in Fergus was to prove shortlived. However, the characterisation of Gawain is similar in both romances, as both are closer to the early traditions of French romance than to the chronicle tradition on which the Morte Arthure draws.<sup>137</sup> In Fergus he is given more prominence than any other member of the Round Table, acts as the moral leader of the court and exemplar of courtesy, by contrast as usual with Kay, and finally brings Fergus back to court and smooths the way for his marriage to Galiene. But he is no blind servant of courtesy, for it is he who warns Fergus of the dangers of neglecting chivalry for love.<sup>138</sup> Both poems have other elements drawn from the stock conventions of Arthurian romance; each opens with a description of feasting at Arthur's court, disturbed by the king's restlessness, and both have a bedchamber scene in which the hero rejects the advances of, in the one case, the heroine, and in the other, the temptress. Furthermore, both share an ability to exploit the magical effectively, an ability nearly as rare in Anglo-Norman romance as it is in Middle English.<sup>139</sup>

Mingled with this is a strong quality of realism, mainly conveyed by the use of precise local topography; Fergus travels the length of Galloway, Gawain endures the Wirral in winter. The elaboration of such detail, common in the historical romances, but unusual in Arthurian romance, gives to both poems a sense of paradoxical insecurity. Above all, the two share an interest in the values and meaning of courtesy, the earlier showing an unkempt youth learning by love and adventure to fit the company of the Round Table, the second showing the most courteous of that company learning the true meaning of the values it stands for.

There is nothing here to suggest a direct relationship between the two romances across the two centuries that divide them, but there is enough to show that when the northern Gawain romances are considered as a whole, Fergus should not be excluded. At the very least, the fact remains that Sir Gawain is not the first romance from the north of Britain to use the machinery and tradition of the French romances for a chivalric romance centred on a local hero, whose adventures provide for the statement and close scrutiny of the values of courtesy.

It has long been recognised that the Gawain poet carefully sets the reign of Arthur within a wider historical context, and he combines this historical sense with careful local detail comparable to that in Awntyrs as well as Fergus. All three of the alliterative poems take an especial interest in provincial courts; the court of Bercilak is but a fuller and richer version of those of Golagrus, of the anonymous lord in



the same poem, and of Sir Galeron. Is there perhaps a touch of irony in the surprise with which the knights of Arthur's court regard these oases of civilisation in the desert wastes of the provinces? If there is, then it echoes a theme taken up to even greater effect in the portrayal of character. The Green Knight, in his first appearance is unique among these romances for the quality of non-religious supernatural he conveys, but as Sir Bercilak he does have descendants, especially the "grym sire" in the first episode of Golagrus and Gawain. For Bercilak is, par excellence, the courtly outsider, the mysterious knight from beyond the pale of civilisation who sets himself up as judge over the moral values of Camelot. Like the knight who confounds Kay at the beginning of Golagrus, he challenges Arthur's court on two fronts: he is both morally superior and physically stronger. Arthurian chivalry comes under attack therefore, not only for failing to reach its own standards, but also for the withering, if not of courage, then of the brute strength of a more heroic age. There is a faint echo here of the castigations of the moralists from the time of John of Salisbury.

The richness of this baronial setting and the dignity of its lord is established, inevitably, at the expense of the Arthurian court, and here an appreciation of the development of Arthurian romance in England, as described above, can contribute towards an understanding of the poem. If the ambivalent attitude towards Arthur and his court was generally recognised and expected, then otherwise slight clues would have had stronger impact than at first seems likely. If this suggestion is taken further, then in the contest between Gawain, the

representative of Arthur's court, and Bercilak, an idealised baron, the original audience may well have been prejudiced in favour of Bercilak. Certainly, it is clear that Gawain's personal stature and self-knowledge increase as he moves from Camelot into the orbit of Bercilak, so that on his return he has somehow outgrown the frivolous world of chivalric Camelot.

The romance is concerned with, among other things, the redefinition of courtesy, and here another echo of Anglo-Norman romance can be heard. In all three Middle English poems, Gawain is the paragon of courtesy, but the implicit assumption of the two later poems is here made explicit: courtesy exists independently of fin'amors. The disagreement between Gawain's personal code of courtesy and the lady's expectations can be seen as the culmination of the debate on the nature of courtesy, and the continual rejection of the extremes of fin'amors, which had been carried on in the romances of England since the appearance of Tristan.

Any work of literature is greater than the sum of its parts, and the enigmatic Sir Gawain more so than most, but our approach, although severely limited, does draw attention to certain aspects of the poem which are often overlooked. It also serves, as in other instances, to isolate those qualities in a work which are original. In this case, the Gawain poet's use of the supernatural is the more striking when we realise how unusual the magical is in the insular romances of either vernacular; he has learnt well from the romance of France. When Sir Gawain is compared to the two later Gawain romances one other major achievement becomes apparent. The didacticism

of the Awntyrs and the ethical complexity of Golagrus have proved too ephemeral to save the poems from near oblivion. The problems posed are those peculiar to a certain class and a certain place; questions of feudal propriety, of chivalry and social manners. Even the theme of anti-imperialism which Matthews constructs from the traditional distrust of Arthur, gives what must prove to be a purely temporary reprieve. But it is evident, both from this romance and from Pearl, that the Gawain poet was himself aware of the superficiality of the concept of courtesy as it developed in the courtly society of the fourteenth century, and in both poems he deepens the concept to make a living spiritual virtue from a moral code. As in Purity and Patience, the strictures of the moralists are transformed into the essential qualities of the glory and mercy of God, so in Pearl the ritual of courtly society becomes the harmony of the courts of heaven, and in Sir Gawain the ideals of late feudal society, engendered by necessity out of a violent world, become the foundations of an individual's integrity, and the battlefield in a struggle between life and death, compromise and absolute truth.

Despite the superiority of Sir Gawain, it is evident that the three Gawain romances have much in common. They can be seen to represent an alternative to the Morte Arthure's critical treatment of the Arthurian legend, and one in which the criticism is consistent with the conventions of the chivalric romance. Thus they follow the pattern set by the French roman d'aventure in selecting a single knight from Arthur's court as the centre of the action. Although only in Sir Gawain



is this structure maintained; in the other two romances Gawain embarks on no lone quest, but remains at the court of which he is spokesman and champion. All three romances have, to varying degrees, a critical approach to the subject of Arthurian chivalry, which finds expression in the importance given to alternative centres of courtesy and to various noble knights who are outsiders, not members of Arthur's court. It would seem that, in his desire to draw attention to the similarities between these poems and the Morte Arthure, Matthews has over-stressed the political interest in them; what there is, is concerned with feudal ethics rather than with the theme of imperialism - there are no large-scale conquests, world conflicts or lists of international armies and submissive kings here as in the Morte Arthure. However, like that poem, these three show a critical attitude towards Arthur himself, ranging from the cool humour of Sir Gawain to the downright dislike of Golagrus. The reasons for this seem to vary; Sir Gawain is probably nearest to the attitude of the Anglo-Norman tradition, reflecting the interests of a high baronial court, ready to indulge in a lightly critical glance at the royal court that is telling if totally lacking in malice. In Awntyrs, the tone seems to derive from the Morte Arthure, and the court and ambition of Arthur become the target for unsubtle moralising of a distinctly religious nature. In Golagrus, the harsher criticisms, it has been suggested,<sup>140</sup> springs from Scottish national feeling; so that Arthur, as the symbol of the centralised power of the English throne, having once earned the tacit disapproval of the English barons, now suffers the strictures of a Scottish partisan.

Different as these motives are, all can be seen to stem directly from the attitude towards Arthur noted in the thirteenth century, as does that of the Morte Arthure. As the three Gawain poems are not concerned with Arthur's fall, their criticism of him can be less explicit, and their analysis of his court does not aim to explore the roots of failure, but to examine the worth of those values it traditionally stands for. Thus personal courtesy, collective chivalry and royal power are weighed against the traditional heroic, feudal and local interests of the provincial romances. But, despite their wide differences, in each of the four Arthurian romances of the Alliterative Revival we can see the influence of the traditions of the historical romance, and of the earlier mistrust of Arthur and Arthurian chivalry.

CHAPTER NINEConclusion

Our enquiry into the nature and development of the historical romance in England has taken us through three centuries and a variety of different works, and has indicated areas which still need closer investigation. That this general approach to the question is a necessary preliminary to more detailed work is evident from the treatment of the subject particularly by the critics of Middle English romance.

The conclusions we have reached confirm the existence of a tradition of literature which is insular, provincial and independent of the continental romance from which it derives, the common characteristics of which are stronger than the differences resulting from the change in language. So, as we have seen, the Anglo-Norman romances are a much neglected part of the literature of England, containing much of value and interest in themselves, and making a contribution to the later development of Middle English romance the importance of which has been considerably underestimated.

The justification of literary history can ultimately only be the increased appreciation and understanding of the literature with which it is concerned. Among the Middle English romances are many works, often of a high quality, which seem to exist in a puzzling isolation - Ipomadon A, Havelok, Athelston, Morte Arthure and Sir Gawain among them. We have seen that Anglo-Norman literature seems to be the ground from which they sprang, and that a knowledge of the tradition of



Anglo-Norman romance helps towards the orientation of such works and the evaluation of their achievement.

There is no reason to suppose that this close relationship between writing in Anglo-Norman and Middle English is a peculiarity of the romance genre, and even within the limits of this thesis we have touched on other aspects of the question, especially that of the relationships between chronicle and romance in both languages. For it is evident that the interest in insular history, which caught the imagination of the Latin historians in the first self-conscious literary movement of the Anglo-Norman period, provides the basis of an early, long-lasting and productive link between the two vernacular literatures of medieval England.

APPENDIX I(a) Extant MSS of Anglo-Norman romances

<u>Title</u>	<u>MSS</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Ref.</u>
<u>Gaimar: "Estorie"</u>	Durham C.iv.27 Lincoln 104 Royal 13 Axxi Coll.of Arms Arundel xiv	early 13thC 13thC late 13thC later 14thC	ed.Bell pp.xv- xviii
<u>Lai d'Haveloc</u>	Phillips Coll.of Arms Arundel xiv	13/14thC later 14thC	ed.Bell p.90
<u>Thomas: "Tristan"</u>	Douce d.6 Sneyd 1 & 2 Turin 1& 2 Strasbourg 1 & 2 Camb.U.L.Dd.12.23	12/13thC 12thC 13thC 13thC late 13thC	ed.Wind pp.9-10  Vising, no.215.
<u>Romance of Horn</u>	Douce 132 Harley 527 Camb.U.L.Ff.6.17 2 fragments	mid 13thC 13thC 14thC 13thC	ed.Pope I,ix-xii
<u>Boeve</u>	Firmin-Didot BN.n.a.f.4532	13thC 14thC	ed.Stimming pp.iii-iv.
<u>Ipomedon</u>	Cotton Vesp.A.vii Egerton 2515 Bod.Rawl.D9.13 Rawl.Misc.1370	13thC early 14thC 14thC 14thC	Ward, I, 728 " " 746 Bod.Cat.142. Legge, 91







APPENDIX IIChronological list of extant mss. with contents.Twelfth Century

Sneyd 1 &amp; 2 (Tr.)

Douce (Tr.)

Thirteenth Century

Durham C.iv.27 (Gmr.Wc.Fnt.)

Lincoln 104 (Gmr.Wc.Fnt.)

Turin 1 &amp; 2 (Tr.)

Strasbourg 1 &amp; 2 (Tr.)

Harley 527 (Hn.)

Douce 132 (Hn.)

Cotton Vesp.A.vii (Ip.)

BN Ff.2169 (Proth.)

Firmin-Didot (Bve.)

Aumale (Fgs.)

BM Add.38662 (G.)

York 16.i.7. (G.)

Boies Penrose (Wc.)

Phillips 4156 (Wc.)

Late 13th - 14th Century

Royal 13.A.xxi. (Wc.Gmr.)

Phillips (Lai)

Phillips 8345 (Wdf.G.)

Corpus C.C.50 (G.Wc.)

Harley 3775 (G.)

Camb.U.L. (G.)

Marske Hall (G.Wc.)

BN.Ff.1669 (G.)

Cotton Vit.A.x.(Wc.)

BM Add.32125 (Wc.)

BN Ff.2171 (Beroul)

Lincoln A.4.12.(Fnt.)

Lambeth 596 (Dermot)

Fourteenth Century

Camb.U.L.Ff.6.17 (Hn.)  
 Egerton 2515 (Ip. Proth.)  
 Rawl.D.913 (Ip.G.Wc.)  
 BN n.a.f.4532 (Bve.)  
 BN Ff.1553 (Fgs.)  
 Royal 12.c.xii (FF.)  
 Arundel 27 (G.)  
 Royal 8.F.ix (G.)  
 Royal 13.A.xxi (Wc.)  
 Harley 6508 (Wc.)  
 Ste.Gen. (Wc.)  
 BN n.a.f.1415 (Wc.)  
 Royal 20 A.ii (WL. Lang.)  
 Cotton Julius A.V.(Lang.)  
 Royal 20 A.xi (Lang.)  
 Coll.of Arms XI (Lang.)  
 Arundel XIV (Gmr.Lai.Wc.Lang.)  
 Royal 15.e.vi.(G.) - 15th century.



Abbreviations

<u>A.L.M.A.</u>	<u>Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages</u> , ed. R.S. Loomis
A.N.T.S.	The Anglo-Norman Text Society
<u>Arch.</u>	<u>Archeologia</u>
<u>Cahiers</u>	<u>Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale</u> (Poitiers)
<u>Camb. Med. Hist.</u>	<u>Cambridge Medieval History</u>
C.F.M.A.	Les Classiques Français du Moyen Age
<u>C.P.</u>	<u>The Complete Peerage</u> , ed. G.E. Cockayne
<u>DNB</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u> , ed. S. Lee
<u>Dictionnaire</u>	<u>Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises</u> , publié sous la direction du Cardinal Georges Grent, I, <u>Le Moyen Age</u> , ed. R. Bossuat, L. Pichard, G. de Lage (Paris, 1964)
EETS	Early English Text Society
OS	Ordinary Series
ES	Extra Series
<u>EHR</u>	<u>English Historical Review</u>
<u>ELH</u>	<u>A Journal of English Literary History</u>
<u>Eng. Stud.</u>	<u>English Studies</u>
<u>Godefroi</u>	<u>F. Godefroi, Dictionnaire de l'ancien langue française et de tous ses dialects, du IXe au XVe siècle</u> (Paris, 1880)
<u>JEGP</u>	<u>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</u>
<u>MLN</u>	<u>Modern Language Notes</u>
<u>MLQ</u>	<u>Modern Language Quarterly</u>
<u>MLR</u>	<u>Modern Language Review</u>
<u>Med. Aev.</u>	<u>Medium Aevum</u>
MHRA	Modern Humanities Research Association
<u>Mod. Phil.</u>	<u>Modern Philology</u>
<u>O.E.D.</u>	<u>Oxford English Dictionary</u>
<u>Neuphil. Mitt.</u>	<u>Neuphilologische Mitteilungen</u> (Helsinki)
<u>PAPS</u>	<u>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</u>
<u>Phil. Quart.</u>	<u>Philological Quarterly</u>
<u>PMLA</u>	<u>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</u>
<u>Proc. Brit. Acad.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the British Academy</u>

<u>RES</u>	<u>Review of English Studies</u>
<u>Rom.Phil.</u>	<u>Romance Philology</u>
R.S.	Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.
S.A.T.F.	Société des Anciens Textes Français
S.T.S.	Scottish Text Society
<u>Spec.</u>	<u>Speculum</u>
<u>Stud.Neophil.</u>	<u>Studia Neophilologica</u>
<u>TRHS</u>	<u>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</u>
Y.M.T.	York Medieval Texts

Notes to Chapter One

1. For a full discussion of this question see R.J. Dean, "What is Anglo-Norman?" Annuaire Mediaevale, VI(1965), 29-46.
2. The Anglo-Norman Element in our Vocabulary (Manchester, 1944), p. 1.
3. See K.V. Sinclair, "Anglo-Norman Studies: the Last Twenty Years," Australian Journal of French Studies, II(1965), 113-155, III(1966), 225-278.
4. Although M.D. Legge still finds it necessary to stress this point in a recent article, "La précocité de la littérature anglo-normande," Cahiers, VIII(1965), 327-349.
5. See D.C. Douglas, William the Conqueror (London, 1964), Ch. 7.
6. See R.R. Bezzola, Les Origines et la Formation de la Littérature Courtoise en Occident (500-1200) (Paris, 1960), II, ii, 393.
7. See H.G. Leach, Angevin Britain and Scandinavia (Harvard, 1921), Ch. 2.
8. "In the wars of Rufus and Robert, the change of feeling shows itself in the altered use of names; the appellations "Norman" and "French" are reserved exclusively for the duke and his allies, and the supporters of the king of England are all counted together indiscriminately as English." Kate Norgate, England under the Angevin Kings (London, 1887), I, 24.
9. For example, Timothy Baker, The Normans (London, 1966), p. 290: "The prolonged life of vernacular prose and the coming reassertion of English taste even in architecture, the invaders' favourite field, show that England might have been governed by an increasingly anglicised aristocracy under William's sons."



10. Edward the Confessor was canonized in 1161, and his relics translated to Westminster Abbey in 1162, an occasion marked by the Vita of Ailred of Rievaulx; see Douglas, op.cit., pp.253-4; A.H.Poole, From Domesday Book to Magna Carta (Oxford, 1951), p.5. For Anglo-Norman lives of the saint see M.D.Legge, Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background (Oxford, 1963), pp.246-7, and Sinclair, op.cit., II, 134-5.
11. R.R.Darlington, Anglo-Norman Historians (Birkbeck College Inaugural Lecture, 1947), shows the continuity with the Anglo-Saxon culture: "The Anglo-Norman historians are themselves the products of the vigorous culture of the last phase of Anglo-Saxon England." (p.19).
12. R.W.Southern, "The Place of England in the Twelfth Century Renaissance," History, XLV (1960), 208.
13. As Legge points out in Précocité, the fate of Wace's Roman de Rou tells us much about the insular interests of the early Anglo-Norman audiences: "Le public d'Angleterre préféra l'histoire des rois du pays, anglais, danois ou normands; à l'histoire des ducs de Normandie, dont les derniers furent par hasard rois d'Angleterre." (p.344).
14. As by E.Walberg, Quelques Aspects de la littérature Anglo-Normande (Paris, 1936).
15. In Professional Interpreters and the Matter of Britain (Wales, 1966), Constance Bullock-Davies identified significant links between the royal latimers of the Welsh marches and the Angevin literary scene.
16. Legge, Précocité, 327. See also her article, "Archaism and the Conquest," MLR, LI (1956), 227-9.

17. Bezzola, op.cit., II, ii, 401-2, points out that although the tale that the Roland was chanted before the Normans at Hastings is unlikely to be true, the fact that it was acceptable to William's twelfth century audience suggests that the chansons were well known.
18. Maud was the patron of the author of St. Brendan, and Adeliza of Philippe de Thaon and "David", author of a life of Henry 1; see Legge, Literature, pp. 8, 22, 28.
19. Bezzola, op.cit., II, ii, 447. See also pp. 535-48 for a discussion of the relationship between the Angevin court and Arthurian society in the Historia.
20. See below p. 139 and notes.
21. Legge, Literature, pp. 36-42.
22. Legge, Précocité, 349.
23. See amongst others, C.H. Haskins, "Henry II as Patron of Literature," Essays in Medieval History presented to T.F. Tout, ed. A.G. Little and F.M. Powicke (Manchester, 1925), 71-79; Bezzola, op.cit., III, i, 247-269; Rita Lejeune, "Role Littéraire d'Alienor d'Aquitaine et de sa famille," Cultura Neolatina, XIV (1954), 292 ff; E-R. Labande, "Pour une image veridique d'Alienor d'Aquitaine," Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, 4th Ser. II (1952), 180 ff.
24. See Haskins, op.cit.
25. See below p. 322.
26. Among works listed by Lejeune, op.cit., as having been influenced by Eleanor are: Roman de Thebes, Roman d'Eneas, Roman de Troie, Wace's Brut, Tristan by both Thomas and Beroul, Marie de France, Lais, debate poems and troubadour poetry.

27. See also J.F.Benton, "The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center," Spec., XXXVI(1961), 551-591.
28. See C.H.Haskins, The Normans in European History (New York, 1916), Ch.8, and two articles by E.Jamieson, "The Sicilian Norman Kingdom in the minds of Anglo-Norman Contemporaries," Proc.Brit. Acad., XXIV(1938), 237-286, and "The Alliance of England and Sicily in the second half of the Twelfth Century," England and the Mediterranean Tradition (Warburg Institute, 1945).
29. See C.H.Haskins, The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century (Harvard, 1927; R.W.Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages (London, 1953).
30. As, for example, by Legge in "The Influence of Patronage on Form in Medieval French Literature," Stil und Formprobleme in der Literatur (Heidelberg, 1959), pp. 136-141.
31. Le Roman de Brut de Wace, ed.I.Arnold, 2 vols., S.A.T.F. (Paris, 1938)
32. For an account of the known facts about Wace and his works, see Arnold, ed.cit., I, lxxiv-lxxix; J.H.Philpot, Maistre Wace (London, 1925)
33. See below p.25.
34. op.cit., III, i, 150.
35. For an account of Wace's sources see Arnold, ed.cit., I, lxxix-lxxx.
36. See below note 46.



37. Bezzola, op.cit., III, i, 171, remarks that in its presentation of the story of Uther and <sup>I</sup>gerne, "le Roman de Brut est le premier texte qui, au nord de la Loire, marque d'une façon claire et évidente l'apparition de l'amour."
38. For discussion of Wace's changes to his source material see Bezzola, op.cit., III, i, 154-60, R.H. Fletcher, The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles (Harvard, 1906), pp. 138-40.
39. See Bezzola, op.cit., III, i, 198 and note.
40. Especially in the passage describing Arthur's court (IX, xi), and that describing his coronation (IX, xii). See also Fletcher, op.cit., pp. 113-4.
41. For an account of the discussion see J.S.P. Tatlock, The Legendary History of Britain (Berkeley, 1950), pp. 471-5, Bezzola, op.cit., III, i, 161-3, gives an excellent account of the significance of Wace's innovation.
42. See esp. ll. 10237-10620.
43. For discussion of the relation between Geoffrey's version and the court of the Anglo-Norman kings see Fletcher, op.cit., pp. 108-110.
44. See below pp. 321-3.
45. It is generally accepted that Marie wrote for the Angevin court. See Bezzola, op.cit., III, i, 304-6, and E.A. Francis, "Marie de France et son temps," Romania, LXXII (1951), 78-99.
46. For discussion of Wace's stylistic innovations and their importance see Arnold, ed.cit., I, lxxxvii-xci; Bezzola, op.cit., III, i, 166-7; F.M. Warren, "Some Features of Style in early French narrative poetry," Mod. Phil., III (1905-6), pp. 517-529.

47. See M. Pelan, L'Influence du "Brut" de Wace sur les Romanciers Français de son Temps (Paris, 1931), p. 170.
48. Tatlock, op.cit., p. 476, draws attention to the significantly high number of extant mss., 24 in all, second only to the Roman de Troie among all French secular narrative poems of a comparable date.
49. The fullest account of the question is by Pelan, op.cit. Bezzola, op.cit., III, i, 168, summarises more recent conclusions.
50. For the influence of Wace's Brut on the Tristan of Thomas see Pelan, op.cit., pp. 72-88; Bezzola, op.cit., III, i, 294 and notes.
51. Attempts to identify him with the authors of the Romance of Horn and the Roman de Toute Chevalerie are not convincing; see below p. 27 and notes.
52. For discussion of theories about the poem's date see Legge, Literature, pp. 45-9, and Les Fragments du Roman de Tristan, ed. B. H. Wind (Paris, 1960), pp. 14-17.
53. Cf. M. Lazar, Amour Courtois et "Fin'Amors" dans la Littérature du XIIe siècle (Paris, 1964), p. 167: "L'idéologie et la casuistique de la fin'amors trouvent dans le poème de Thomas leur plus parfaite illustration romanesque."
54. For an admirable summary of the ideas of fin'amors in the lyrics see the Preface to Introduction à l'Etude de l'Ancien Provençal, ed. F. R. Hamlin, J. Hathaway & P. Ricketts (Genève, 1967)
55. Jean Frappier, "Structure et sens du Tristan: version commune, version courtoise," Cahiers, VI (1963), 451.

56. See, amongst more recent studies of the poem, the conclusion reached by Legge, Literature, p.57, that "He may have intended to write a tale of courtly love, but the love he depicts remains passion." and Wind, ed.cit., p.12, "L'originalité du poète est dans la présentation du sujet; c'est par là qu'il est courtois, non par le thème, qui est tragique."
57. op.cit., pp.255-80, 441-454.
58. "Dites li qu'ore li suvenge....de nostre amur fine e veraie/  
Quant ele jadis guari ma plaie/Del beivre qu'ensemble beümes"  
Douce, 1215, 1219-21.
59. He further remarks that Isolde's death speech combines the themes of the philtre and "amour d'élection", op.cit. p.275.
60. Lazar comments on Thomas's "transformation de la passion fatale en un amour plus réfléchi et plus raisonnable selon les préceptes de la fin'amors." op.cit., p.170.
61. For the relationship between the Tristans of Thomas and Beroul, and Cligès see A.Fourrier, Le Courant Réaliste dans le Roman Courtois, I (Paris, 1960) pp.124-154. He concludes that Chretien "emprunte à la version commune, qu'il connaissait de longue date, mais sa réplique semble s'adresser directement à la version courtoise de Thomas." (p.153.)
62. For a recent discussion of the "courtly" and "common" treatments of the Tristan legend see Frappier, op.cit., esp. pp.260-4.
63. op.cit., III, ii, 388.
64. See the chapters by F.Whitehead and W.Jackson in Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, ed.R.S.Loomis (Oxford, 1959), pp.134-144, 145-156 and notes.



65. D.W. Robertson, Jr., "Chaucerian Tragedy," ELH, XIX (1952), 29.
66. To avoid confusion with Isolde (the Fair), here referred to throughout by the alternative form, Iseult.
67. Turin 144-151.
68. Douce 132-344.
69. La Chanson de Roland, ed. F. Whitehead (Oxford, 1962), ll. 1705-7.
70. Cf. Bezzola, op. cit., III, i, 301, "L'amour de Tristan et Iseut détruit les bases mêmes de la société."
71. Cf. the conclusion reached by Fourrier, op. cit., p. 107, "Hostile par principe au merveilleux, il l'a éliminé ou il l'a atténué, soit en le situant dans une lointaine perspective historique; soit en le diluant en symbolisme. Il a précisé temps et lieux, il a modernisé, il a fait appel aux institutions, aux usages, aux mœurs et au goût de son époque... Il unifie, il simplifie, il clarifie."
72. See Warren, op. cit.
73. See below pp. 172-3.
74. op. cit., p. 453.
75. For mss. see Appendix 1. See also Legge's comments on the mss. of Tristan, Literature, p. 55.

Notes to Chapter Two (a)

1. The need for flexibility in dealing with these linguistic and literary categories has been well expressed by Ruth Dean, "Does English or American literature claim the writings of James, Eliot or Auden?" "A Fair Field Needing Folk - Anglo-Norman," PMLA, LXIX(1954), 978.
2. For an account of the term "ancestral Romance" and a discussion of its value see below p.121.
3. His Estoire de Saint Graal is included with some misgiving by J.Vising, Anglo-Norman Language and Literature (London, 1923), p.46. William Nitze, "Messire Robert de Borron: Enquiry and Summary," Spec., XXVIII(1953), 279-297, summarises the discussion and suggests that de Borron may have visited England in the early thirteenth century.
4. The identification of the author "Chrestiens" with Chretien de Troyes has been dismissed by most scholars. For an account of the relationship of the poem to Anglo-Norman romance, see M.D.Legge, "The Dedication of Guillaume d'Angleterre," Medieval Miscellany presented to Eugene Vinaver, ed.F.Whitehead (Manchester, 1965), 196-205.
5. For discussion of this point with reference to the Middle English version see O.Kratins, "The Middle English Amis & Amiloun - Chivalric Romance or Secular Hagiography?" PMLA, LXXI(1966), 347-354
6. Ed.A.Bell, A.N.T.S., XIV-XVI (Oxford, 1960).
7. See below p.139 and notes.
8. See Legge, Literature, p.29.
9. Le Lai d'Haveloc and Gaimar's Haveloc Episode, ed.A.Bell (Manchester, 1925), pp.60-79. See also his article, "Maistre Geffrei Gaimar," Med.Aev., VII(1938), 184-198.

10. Fletcher, op.cit., pp. 125-7, compares Gaimar's chronology with that of Geoffrey of Monmouth and concludes that Arthur's conquest of Denmark formed part of the Haveloc story before the time of Geoffrey.
11. Bell, ed.cit. (1925).
12. op.cit., p. 28.
13. op.cit., p. 59.
14. op.cit., pp. 51-3. M. Donovan, The Breton Lay: a Guide to Varieties (Notre Dame, 1969), pp. 103-4, sees the Lai d'Haveloc as an example of how external features of the genre could be applied to material of a basically unsuitable nature to bring it into line with literary fashion.
15. Bell, op.cit., p. 60.
16. op.cit., pp. 71-5, and see below
17. op.cit., p. 28.
18. See below p. 139.
19. The Romance of Horn, Vol. I, ed. M. K. Pope, A. N. T. S., IX-X (Oxford, 1955), Vol. II, ed. M. K. Pope and T. B. W. Reid, A. N. T. S., XII-XIII (Oxford, 1964).
20. See below Chapter Six.
21. In the Pope edition. There is a lacuna between mss. at line 4585.
22. Line 3.
23. See Legge, Literature, pp. 49, 96, 106.
24. Pope, ed.cit. ¶ III, 19-20. See also her article, "The Romance of Horn and King Horn," Med. Aev., XXV (1957), 164-7.



25. See below pp.44-45.
26. See Pope,art.cit.
27. See below p.58.
28. ed.cit.,II,6-8. However, the use of the name Hardré for a sympathetic character, suggests that he did not know the Raoul de Cambrai cycle:see J.Crosland,The Old French Epic (Oxford,1951),p.183.
29. ed.cit.,II,8-13.
30. Boeve de Hamtone,ed.A.Stimming,Bib.Normannica,VII(Halle,1899).
31. See below p.151 and notes.
32. For mss. see App.I.
33. See L.A.Hibbard,Medieval Romance in England(New York,1924),p.120 and Leach,Angevin Britain,pp.331-3.
34. See P.C.Hoyt,"The Home of the Bevis Saga,"PMLA,XVII(1902), 237-246, and below pp.172-3.
35. The question is discussed below
36. See below
37. "E bels fiuts et filles avoient,/Dount nous autre fech parlerouns,/ Kaunt temps propice reverroms." Proth.ll. 12693-5.
38. Ipomedon, ed.E.Kölbhing and E.Koschwitz(Breslau,1899).
39. Protheselaus,ed.F.Kluckow(Göttingen,1924).
40. See C.H.Carter,"Ipomedon,a Study in Romance Origins,"Essays in honour of F.B.Gummere(Haverford,1909),239-63, and F.Lecoy,"Un épisode du Protheselaus,"Romania,LXXVI(1955),455-518.

41. C.Muscatine, "The Emergence of Psychological Allegory in Old French Romance," PMLA, LXVIII(1953), 1160-82.
42. Legge, Literature, pp.87-88.
43. For ms. see Appendix I.
44. Johannes Bramis, Historia Regis Waldei, ed.R.Imelmann(Bonn, 1912). For its relationship to the lost English version, see Legge, Literature, p.143.
45. I am extremely grateful to Mr R.Anderson of Durham University, who is editing Waldef for the A.N.T.S., for allowing me to consult his transcription of the unique manuscript.
46. See Legge, Literature, p.145, and the passage quoted below p.44.
47. See below pp.44-45.
48. This spelling is retained to distinguish between the Anglo-Norman Boeve and the Middle English Beves. For a possible connexion between Beves and Waldef see below p.242.
49. For a perceptive account of this see Legge, Literature, pp.148-150.
50. It is however extremely close to the conversion passage in Gui; see below p.101 and Ch.2(b), note 51. It also resembles the confrontation between Arthur and the palmer in the Morte Arthure, and it is worth noting that both poems show a knowledge of the Alexander romances; see below p.101, W.Matthews, The Tragedy of Arthur(Berkeley, 1960), and E.B.Ham, "The Language of the Roman de Waldef," Med.Aev., IV(1935), 176-193.
51. Literature, p.154.
52. ed. E.Martin(Halle, 1872).
53. For mss. see Appendix I, for date see below p.157.
54. See R.S.Loomis, Arthurian Tradition and Chretien de Troyes (New York, 1949), p.115 ff.

55. See A.L.M.A., Chapter 28.
56. lines 1030 ff.
57. See below p.157 and note 87.
58. ed. A.Ewert, C.F.M.A.lxxiv,lxxv,(Paris ,1933)
59. See Appendix I.
60. See Ewert,ed.cit.,I,iv-vi.
61. Ewert finds sources and analogues amongst a wide range of works including: St.Alexis, St.Eustace, le Moniage Guillaume, Amis et Amile, Amadas & Idoine, Horn, Boeve.Ed.cit.,I,viii,n.1.
62. See below pp.179-181 and note 18.
63. ed.L.Brandin,C.F.M.A.lxiii(Paris ,1930)
64. See below p.163 and notes.
65. His fame as an outlaw was known to Langtoft:"Du boyvere dam Waryn luy rey Robyn ad bu", The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, ed.T.Wright,R.S.XLVII(London1866-8),II,372.
66. See M.H.Keen, The Outlaws of Medieval Legend(London,1961),p.47.
67. This is the general interpretation of Leland's description of the lost English version; see De Rebus Britannicie Collectanea, ed.T.Hearne(London,1715; 2nd ed.1770),I,236; See also the significance attached to this by J.R.Hulbert,"A Hypothesis Concerning the Alliterative Revival,"Mod.Phil.,XXVIII(1931) 405-22, and below p.312.



68. It is accepted by Legge, Literature, pp. 144, 154, and by R.M. Wilson, The Lost Literature of Medieval England (London, 1952, 2nd. ed. 1970), p. 113.
69. See R. Anderson's article on Waldef in Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises publié sous la direction du Cardinal Georges Brent, Le Moyen Age, ed. R. Bossuat, L. Pichard, G. de Lage (Paris, 1964)
70. "Lise le Brut, illoc l'orra" line 24.
71. See below p. 172, and Legge, Literature, p. 154.
72. But see below pp. 230-236.
73. Legge, Literature, p. 145, Wilson, op.cit., p. 112.
74. This classification was first made by Legge, Literature, Ch. 7.
75. For example, Fourrier, op.cit., p. 21, describes Anglo-Norman romance as "cette alliance entre l'histoire et le roman."
76. For further discussion of this point see below Chapter 5.
77. Wace, Roman de Rou, ed. H. Andresen (Heilbronn, 1877-9)
78. This term owes much to N.E. Griffin, "The Definition of Romance," PMLA, XXXVIII (1923), 50-70. However, his definition of the epic as credible, and the romance as credible, and the idea that "the epic of one people will, if transplanted, become the romance of another" while generally valid, especially for example in the case of the Middle English Charlemagne romances, cannot be applied to the historical romance.
79. Cf. L. Foulet in Medieval France, ed. A. Tilley (Cambridge, 1922), p. 292 Arthurian romance "pleased those who sought distraction and peace rather than inspiration."

80. Differences in the presentation of the supernatural are discussed below pp.95-97.
81. D.M.Hill, "Romance as Epic," Eng.Stud., XLIV(1963), 95-107, points out the dangers of using these terms as they tend to be "judgements not neutral labels," and emphasises the continuity between epic and romance.
82. See J.Crosland, The Old French Epic (Oxford, 1951); J.Rychner, Les Chansons de Geste (Geneva & Lille, 1955).
83. See Bezzola, Origines, II, ii, "De Charlemagne à Alexandre et Arthur" for a full discussion of these points.
84. Lazar, op.cit., p.17. He shows that even among the troubadours themselves the meanings of the terms of fin'amors vary, and that there are considerable changes when the vocabulary is taken up by the poets of northern France.
85. See below p.314 ff.
86. Compare, for example, the following passage from Protheselaus:  
 "Et Pentalis ben l'aperceit/ A sa buche met l'olifan,  
 Mult l'ad sone par grant ahan/ Et a grant force le sona."8191-4.  
 with this from the Chanson de Roland:  
 "Roland ad mis l'olifan a sa buche...  
 Le quens Rolant par peine e par ahans  
 Par grant dulong sunet son olifan."  
 1753, 1761-2.
87. See below Chapter Three.

Notes to Chapter Two (b)

1. A.J.Denomy, "Courtly Love and Courtliness," Spec., XXVIII (1953), 44-63,
2. Denomy, op.cit., p.48
3. See Lazar, Amour Courtois, Ch.1. Cf. Denomy, op.cit., p.63, "cortezia is an ideal and a virtue of the courtly lover; courtoisie is the virtue and the ideal of the chevalier."
4. See Lazar, op.cit., Ch.2, H.Dupin, La Courtoisie au Moyen Age (Paris, 1931), W.G.Dodd, "The System of Courtly Love," Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower (Boston, 1913), 1-20.
5. See Southern, op.cit., Ch.5.
6. Frappier, op.cit., p.260. See also Lazar, op.cit., p.21. The study by C.B.West, Courtoisie in Anglo-Norman Literature (Oxford, 1938), while providing a valuable analysis of several Anglo-Norman romances, suffers from a fundamental confusion on this point.
7. It is now generally recognised that the term amour courtois has little foundation in medieval writing, but was coined by Gaston Paris in 1883 (see Denomy, op.cit., p.46). However, it has been so widely adopted by critics since Paris that it has become irreplaceable. It is used in this thesis as a general term, by contrast with fin'amors which is used in the more precise sense of the ideas and expressions of the troubadours.
8. See also above Ch.1, n.54.
9. Lazar, op.cit., p.253.



10. The most extreme view of the influence of the Cathars on troubadour poetry is voiced by Denis de Rougemont, L'Amour et l'Occident(Paris, 1939). Few scholars accept his argument, see Lazar, op.cit., pp.171-2, and M.C. D'Ancý, The Mind and Heart of Love(London, 1945), Ch.1.
11. Lazar, op.cit., p.12.
12. The debate about the precise relation between fin'amors and an idealisation of adultery is still very much alive. Two recent opinions are those of Lazar - "pour les troubadours, l'opposition entre fin'amors et amour conjugal est absolue et irréductible." op.cit., p.60, - and from the other side, Peter Dronke - "There is no evidence whatsoever in troubadour poetry that the poets thought of love and marriage as necessarily incompatible." Med.Aev., XXXII(1963), 58.
13. Lai d'Haveloc, ed.A.Bell, pp.1-5.
14. See M.K.Pope, ed.cit., II,7.
15. loc.cit.
16. Lazar, op.cit., p.213.
17. ll.484-7.
18. line 1148.
19. ll.699-706.
20. ll.953-69.
21. "S'ele s'en esbaïst, seignors, n'en merveillez,  
De feme est costume qu'el change ses pensez,  
Quant el veit bel home, ki genz est a moulliez."1014-16.
22. For an interesting use of the term in Horn see line 4011 and note

23. See below pp.82-3 for Thomas's treatment of the Irish court.
24. As by C.S.Lewis,The Allegory of Love(Oxford,1938),p.12, and F.Heer,The Medieval World(first published as Mittelalter, Zurich,1961, English trans.London,1963),pp.171-2.
25. ll.2872-7.
26. ed.cit.,II,10.
27. ed.cit.,II,6.
28. It is interesting to note that while Horn's beauty is often referred to as something magical,as "faée", it is always said to be sa by women, see ll.453,860,2188,2462.
29. line 769.
30. The horse is often as important as this in the chansons, see Crosland,Old French Epic,pp.285-8, and in courtly literature, quite apart from symbolic animals like Yvain's lion, an animal may share in the emotions of the lovers as does the dog Huden in the Tristan legend.
31. See below pp.86-87.
32. "Icel'amur est trop amer",line 897. The pun is extremely fashionable, see Legge,Literature,p.46.
33. See below Ch.6 note 56.
34. For example,ll.8793-8803.
35. Literature,p.85.
36. See below Chapter Six.
37. Heer,op.cit.,p.165.

38. But Medea's account of marriage is rather less idealistic,  
 "Aventure est de seinur prendre,/Kar nus avum vëu sovent  
 Tels qui s'entr'aiment durement,/Quant il primes sunt asemblé  
 Qui pus unt esté descordé/ Et qui ne s'entr'amerent guaires,  
 Ainz unt entr'els mult grant cuntraires." Proth.10745-51.
39. See Legge,Literature,p.150-1.
40. op. cit.,p.149.
41. To judge by his description of the dragon of Dunostre, he  
 is also familiar with some version of the Tristan legend,  
 see ll.4194-5.
42. "Amons...Met un quarriel en s'arbaleste.  
 ..... La pucele fiert par mi l'æl  
 D'un quarriel, dont d'or est la pointe."ll.1639-44.
43. See below p.157.
44. See below p.123.
45. "E,n'i geres après, morust dame Mahaud de Caus, sa femme,  
 e fust enteree en cele priorie e, bone piece après qe  
 cele dame fust devyé, Fouke esposa une molt gentile  
 dame, dame Clarice de Auberville,e de la une e l'autre  
 dame engendra bials enfauntz."p.83.
46. See below p.130.
47. As by Horn, "Povre sui orphanin, n'ai de terre plein gant,...  
 Vous avrez un haut rei, si iert plus avenant;  
 Mei ne devez amer ki ci vinc pain querant"  
 1112,1118-a.
48. For similar lists of qualities see Gui,ll.1181-2, Lai,line 255,  
Fouke,p.56.
49. Cf. Gui,ll.461-2, Horn, ll.709-11, Ipomedon,line 1233.



50. See also notes 18 and 42 above, and Boeve, line 459, "Ore li ad li deu de amurs en sa laterie". For a full account of the use of metaphors from war and chivalry in the romances see G. Biller, Etude sur le style des premiers romans français en vers, 1150-75 (Goteborg, 1916) pp. 69-71.

51. But Fergus has one speech which resembles Aucassin's famous declaration:

"Se Galiene o le cler vis  
Fust en infer en tenebror,  
S'iroie je: par soie amor  
Lairoie paradis la sus  
Por venir aveuc li ca jus  
Sofrir mal et painne et torment  
Dusques au grant forsjudement." ll. 3767-73.

and Gui, swearing his devotion to Felice, declares that he would sacrifice his conscience for her:

"Suz ciel n'est icele rien  
Fust ço mal u fust ço bien,  
Que pur vostre amur ne feisse," ll. 317-9.

However, this should be seen in a wider context - it leads to his conversion when he realises that this is precisely what he has done: "Pur vus ai fait maint grant desrei,

Homes ocis, destruites citez,  
Arses abbeies de plusurs regnez..."

ll. 7608-10.

Notes to Chapter Two (c)

1. Marc Bloch, Feudal Society (first publ. as La Société Féodale, Paris, 1939, trans. L.A. Manyon, London, 1961), p. 221.
2. Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of the quarrel between Uther and the husband of Igerne: "Gwrlais... became enraged, and left the court without permission of the king. And when Yther learned this, he was angered, and sent messengers after Gwrlais ordering him to return, because it was a great insult to quit the court of the king without permission." Historia Regum Britanniae, ed. G. Griscom (London, 1929), p. 423. In Waldef, war follows Waldef's non-attendance at a feast given by the king of London: see ll. 6425 ff.
3. Orderic Vitalis complained that the courtiers at the court of William Rufus studied how to please women by their manners: see Bezzola, Origines, II, ii, 465.
4. See D.M. Stenton, English Society in the Early Middle Ages, (London, 1951, repr. 1964), p. 17.
5. Brut, ll. 10199-10620.
6. ll. 10340-52.
7. ed. cit., II, 110-116.
8. Cf. Brut, ll. 10555-6.
9. Cf. Brut, ll. 10543-50.
10. Brut, ll. 10466-74.
11. pp. 75-6.
12. Horn, ll. 2776-2845.
13. Horn, ll. 448-50.

14. The Didot Perceval, ed. William Roach (Philadelphia, 1941), p. 143.
15. Jean Renart, Galeran de Bretagne, ed. L. Foulet, C.F.M.A. xxxvii (Paris, 1925),
16. See below pp. 165-169.
17. Boeve, ll. 2471-2500.
18. Proth., ll. 3276-3325.
19. Horn, ll. 475-80; 2188-90.
20. See Bezzola, Origines, III, i, 23-30.
21. op.cit., 87-93.
22. Horn, ll. 2863-79. This is comparable to Cadour's attack on the decadence of peace, Brut, ll. 10737-64.
23. Cf. Waldef, ll. 1325-6, "E la value e la pruesce  
Qui mierz valt que nule richesce"  
and Horn, ll. 3487-8.
- 24.
24. As is clear in Josiane's speech:  
"Mahun!" dist la pucele, "mult est bien enseigné  
e large e corteis com un amiré;  
unkes ne fu velein, jeo sai de verité."  
Boeve, ll. 747-9.
25. Horn, 2535, Prothes., 2472-3, Gui, 150-2.
26. Fergus, ll. 726.
27. Even to the point of describing Arthur's ablutions, ll. 286-90.
28. See below Ch. 8, note 137.



29. For examples of ostentatious largesse see Bloch,op.cit.,p.311.
30. Horn,ll.2271-6.
31. See above p.86.
32. See below p.118.
33. However,Bell,Lai d'Haveloc,p.56, sees this as a criticism not of the court but of Haveloc himself.
34. Quoted above p.67.
35. Gui,ll.1049-54.
36. Boeve,line 1713.
37. Ipomedon,line 4268.
38. Horn,ll.2545-6.
39. Bezzola,op.cit.,III,i,91-2.

Notes to Chapter Two(d)

1. This motif, which originated in Nennius, is to be found in Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia, ed. cit., p. 438.
2. Roland, line 2389.
3. The Balin episode in the Vulgate Merlin shows how strongly a basically pagan awareness of Fate can infuse Christian writing.
4. Lazamon's Brut, ed. F. Madden, 3 vols (London, 1847), III, 32240-1.
5. The dream occupies over 40 lines -193-236 - of a total of some 400.
6. "Sunlunc sun sen espelst le sunge" line 263.
7. ll. 499-538. For the relation with the works of Marie de France see Bell, ed. cit., p. 53.
8. See below p. 132.
9. ll. 411-4.
10. ll. 1040-5.
11. ll. 1000-5, and see below Ch. 6, note 86.
12. ll. 1593-8.
13. ~~ll. 3511~~ ll. 3578.
14. Waldef does have an axe "Ke Weilland le bon fievere fist", line 21466, but it has no magical properties.

15. ll. 4200-50.
16. This takes the form of a miraculous darkness over the battlefield, ll.5050 ff.
17. Esp. the champion of the king of "Seisvingne", ll. 15742-5.
18. A folio is missing at this point in the ms., but the Latin version seems to follow the original closely - cf. the pilgrim's speech, "De tresgrant orguel pensastes,  
Quant vus unques prendre quidastes  
Par esforz parais terrestre." ll. 20885-7.
19. Cf. the passage from Gui quoted above 2(b)n.51. See also 2(a)n.50.
20. However, Ipomedon does rely on divine aid in defeating Leonins, a monstrous pagan from India, ll. 9810-11.
21. ll. 3900-5400.
22. W.P.Ker, Epic and Romance (London, 1897, repr. New York, 1959), p.325, Lecoy, "Un épisode du Protheselaus," finds no fewer than sixteen analogues for the "Chevalier Bloi" episode of which that in Protheselaus is amongst the earliest.
23. For the relation between Fergus and the romances of Chretien see Loomis, Arthurian Tradition, pp.115 ff., 291, 365 ff., A.Micha, A.L.M.A., Ch.28, C.B.Lewis, Classical Mythology and Arthurian Romance (Oxford, 1932), pp.100-6.
24. Micha, op.cit., p.579, suggests that the quest for the shining shield may have been suggested by that for the shining Grail.
25. For both realism and restraint this compares most favourably with the suicide of Dido. See Eneas, ed. J-J.S.de Grave, C.F.M.A. xliv (Paris, 1925), ll.2007-2074.



26. 11. 11009-11278.
27. Loomis sees in the "Chastiel Bran" of Fouke evidence of the transmission of Welsh legend into French romance via the Anglo-Norman occupation of the Welsh marches, See Arthurian Tradition, pp. 30, 242, 292.
28. E. Auerbach, Mimesis (first published Bern, 1946, trans. W. Trask, Princeton, 1953), p. 133.

Notes to Chapter Two (e)

1. Bloch, op.cit., p.443.
2. Auerbach, op.cit., p.134.
3. See Bloch, op.cit. esp. pp.329-31, 429-31.
4. Cf. Gaimar, ll.747-756, Boeve, ll.3784-6, 2375-83, Proth. ll.12643-7, Fouke, p.82, Horn, ll.4855-6.
5. For the difference between fealty and homage see Bloch, op.cit., p.146.
6. Proth. line 208, "Par un gant li rent la baillie"
7. See Fouke, pp.32-3, and Wikele's speech quoted above p.89.
8. Powicke, Thirteenth Century, p.7.
9. See below p.133.
10. Proth. line 12319.
11. Ipomedon, ll.2123-4.
12. Ipomedon, ll.10464-76.
13. See the passage from Horn quoted above p.112, and Waldef, ll.3230f
14. Fouke, p.81.
15. Cf. passages quoted below p.124, with Yvain where the heroine's vassals urge her to remarry immediately because "Fame ne set porter escu." Der Löwenritter, ed. W. Foerster (Halle, 1887), line 2096.

16. The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154, ed. Cecily Clark (Oxford, 1954, 2nd ed. 1970), p. 12.
17. op.cit. p. 54. See also p. 60 on Henry 11.
18. For further instances of this motif see below Ch. 6 note 9.
19. "En sa terre bon justisiere/Ne trova humme si hardi  
Qui mesprendre osast vers li." Waldef, ll. 176-8.
20. "Il n'a veisin si fort, ki i face buffei,  
Qu'il tost ne se venge par mut grant noblei." Horn, ll. 505-6.
21. See W.W. Comfort, "Character Types in the Old French Chansons de Geste," PMLA, XXI (1906), 279-434, and Crosland, op.cit., pp. 271-3. See also below Ch. 6, note 10.
22. The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury, trans. J. Dickinson (New York, 1963). For a full discussion of John of Salisbury's theories on patriarchal-ecclesiastical kingship, see Dickinson's Introduction, pp. xl-lviii.
23. op.cit., pp. 85-6.
24. Lazamon's Brut ll. 19930-41.
25. Cf. Gudreche's account of his own dependence on Horn, ll. 3613-25.
26. "Ki ben set justiser ces k'at en meinburnie." Horn, line 4856.
27. See Sidney Painter, The Reign of King John (Baltimore, 1949, repr. 1966), p. 261. As John of Salisbury, Policraticus, IV, 5, declares that chastity is an essential quality in a king, this accusation may well have had a deliberate political intent.



39. See esp. Helaine Newstead, "The Enfances of Tristan and English Tradition," Studies in Medieval Literature in honour of A.C. Baugh, ed. M. Leach (Philadelphia, 1961), 169ff. See also Leach, Angevin Britain, pp. 324-33.
40. Boeve, ll. 296.
41. Legge, Literature, Ch. 7.
42. Compare A. Micha, A.L.M.A., p. 378, "In the whole range of Arthurian romance there is no instance of a more detailed, more realistic geographical setting." This does not seem to take into account several of the later Middle English romances; see below p. 344 ff.
43. See Bloch, Feudal Society, pp. 226-7.
44. The same applies to the seneschal Frode in Waldef and his son Frodelin, and in Gui, Otun of Pavie and his nephew Berard.
45. See Bloch, op.cit., p. 125.
46. Ipomedon, line 8773, Fergus, line 1839. Cf. Brangvane's speech to Isolde, quoted above p. 20.
47. "Qu'après mes jurz purra avoir/Mes chasteals e mes forz citez  
E mes terres e tuz mes fiez." Waldef, ll. 14562-4.
48. See below p. 129.
49. It is one of Boeve's grievances against the Emperor that he did not ask his (Boeve's) permission to marry his mother - ll. 293-4.
50. See below p. 164.
51. Fouke, p. 9.
52. Fergus, line 5286.

53. Waldef, ll. 9752-10875.
54. For an account of the impact of feudal ideas on religious symbolism and ritual, see Bloch, op.cit., p.233 and plates III-IV.
55. Guillaume d'Angleterre, ed. M. Wilmotte, C.F.M.A. lv (Paris, 1927), ll. 286-376.
56. See below pp.230-236.
57. Horn, ll. 1713-15a. Cf. Waldef, line 3155.
58. Horn, ll. 4593-4613.
59. Horn, ll. 5091-5125.
60. Cf. Proth. ll. 1155-7, "Li vif i regretent les morz,  
Li un i deplorent lor freres, / Amis altres, li fiz lor peres."
61. See also Bloch, op.cit., p.412, "For a king, for a prince, there was no higher praise than the title of 'peacemaker'. The word must be understood in its most positive sense - not one who accepts peace, but one who imposes it."
62. "Aveloc vit la gent menue, / K'en s'añe esteient venue,  
Ne volt pas k'il seient oscis." Lai, ll. 943-5.
63. See Horn, ll. 4446-7, Fergus, ll. 6126-6780, Fouke, pp.9-11.
64. Ipomedon, ll. 3300-6586.
65. K.G.T. Webster, "The Twelfth Century Tourney," Kittredge Anniversary Papers (Harvard, 1913), 227-234.
66. See N. Denholm-Young, "The Tournamant in the Thirteenth Century," Studies in Medieval History presented to F.M. Powicke, ed. R.W. Hunt (Oxford, 1948), 240-68.

67. On this aspect of the subject see R.H.Cline, "The Influence of Romance on Tournaments," Spec., XX(1945), 204 -11, and below pp.323-326.
68. See E.A.Francis, "The Background of Fouke Fitzwarin," Studies in Medieval French presented to Alfred Ewert(Oxford, 1961), 322-7.
69. Denholm-Young says of the Peak Tournament, "It shows what contemporaries would have liked to happen, and may be taken as a somewhat idealised picture of an Edwardian tournament." op.cit., p.265.
70. See Bloch, op.cit., pp.379-80.
71. Lai, ll. 737-50. However, J.Martin, "Studies in Some Early Middle English Romances," unpubl.thesis(Cambridge, 1968), 208, attributes this to an inconsistency indicative of conflicting sources.
72. Gaimar, ll. 747-56, Lai, ll. 1095-8.
73. Protheselaus is also aware of being a "deshérité", line 3667.
74. Legge, Literature, p.88, points out the contemporary relevance of this theme of family strife during the last years of Henry 1.
75. See below pp.254-5.



Notes to Chapter Three

1. See below Appendix II.
2. See Bell, "Maistre Geffrei Gaimar" and ed.cit. (1960), pp. ix-x, li-lii. He concludes that the Estorie was written c1140.
3. For details of mss. see Bell, ed.cit., pp. xv-xxiii, and below Appendix 1.
4. See D.M. Williamson, "Ralf son of Gilbert and Ralf son of Ralf," Lincolnshire Architectural and Archeological Society, Reports and Papers (1953), 19-26.
5. Bell, "Maistre Geffrei Gaimar," p. 185.
6. See J.C. Holt, The Northerners (Oxford, 1961), pp. 12-15.
7. See for example, The Metrical Chronicle of Jordan Fantosme, ed. R. Howlett, R.S. 82 (London, 1886), III, line 1563:  
"E Rogier le Bigot ki unkes ne failli" - which suggests a note of flattery towards the Earls of Norfolk.
8. Pope, ed.cit., II, 123-4, discusses suggestions as to the date of Horn which range from the reign of Stephen to the mid-thirteenth century. She takes the reference to the "curt mantel" (450) as establishing a terminus a quo at 1154, and suggests that the contrast between Horn and Ipomedon makes 1170 a likely date for the former.
9. Literature, p. 99. See also her article, "Influence of Patronage,"
10. 11. 1737-49.
11. See Literature, p. 101. Pope suggests that the passage may echo the earlier feud between Stephan and Geoffrey of Anjou, ed.cit., II, 123.

12. See above p.7. It is of interest here that one example of contemporary praise for Henry's learning is the Latin poem by Osbert de Clare, brother of Strongbow and Prior of Westminster, see Bezzola, Origines, III, i. 8.
13. For example, ll. 136-7, "Ne sui pas si enveilli, ço sevent gent asez/ Ke deive terre perdre."
14. See M.K.Pope, "Notes on the vocabulary of the Romance of Horn and Rigmel," Mélanges offerts à Ernest Hoepffner (Paris, 1949), 63-70.
15. See Marie de France, Lais, ed. A. Ewert (Oxford, 1944, repr. 1963), p. ix.
16. Pope, ed. cit., I, xi-xii. The contents of the ms. were evidently collected together in the mid-thirteenth century.
17. "In 1186 William (Talbot) assumed the guise of a pilgrim and sought for Ela, heiress of the Earl of Salisbury, who had been taken to Normandy and was there strictly guarded. Having found the right castle William, who was skilled in songs, put on a minstrel's guise and so won his way within. He succeeded in escaping with the lady and in bringing her back to England, where she was given in marriage to William Longespee." Medieval Romance, p. 93 note.
18. G.H.Orpen, Ireland under the Normans, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1911), II, 243.
19. The Song of Dermot and the Earl, ed. G.H.Orpen (London, 1872), ll. 328-9. A longer description of Strongbow is provided by Giraldus Cambrensis, the Middle English translation of which is as follows: "The Erl was man of suche mannere; he was samroed, with grey eghen, wommanes vysage, and sproty, smal spech, short nek; on al other manere he was of fayr body, and alonge fre and meke; ham that he hade not to yeve to, he quemed hem with fayr spech; out of wepne, he was as redy to otheres byddyngge as other to hys: alle thyngge he dydde by rede of hys men, & nothing wyth-out. Out of batylle, he had more of knyght than of host-leder: yn bataylle, more leder than knight; & yn al adventuræ of batylle, he was stydfast, ful connyngge & tokne of recet to al hys host; & for non unhap he ne amayed hymself, ne yn wanhope ne fel; ne for ne good chaunce, he ne made hym the pratter ne þe more hautayn; bot euer-more, yn al adventurs, of stydfast hert and trewe." The English Conquest of Ireland, ed. F.J.Furnivall (London, 1896), EETS O.S. 107. p. 54.

20. See Orpen, Ireland, Vol. I, Poole, op.cit., pp. 305-10, L.H. Nelson, The Normans in South Wales (Texas, 1966), pp. 131-50. The primary sources are The Song of Dermot and Giraldus Cambrensis, Expugnatio Hibernica, ed. J.F. Dimock, R.S. 21, V (London, 1867).
21. Another parallel is to be found in Trivet's theory that Strongbow was an exile in Ireland, see Annales, ed. T. Hog (London, 1845), pp. 66-7.
22. Expugnatio, p. 284, Dermot, ll. 2695-6.
23. Orpen, op.cit., I, 287-318.
24. See E. Curtis, "The English and Ostmen in Ireland," EHR, XXIII (1908), 209-19.
25. Poole, op.cit. p. 310.
26. See Nelson, op.cit., pp. 137-40.
27. The setting of Yonec may be Monmouthshire, see Ewert, ed.cit., note to ll. 13-16. Tatlock, op.cit., pp. 521-2, finds an echo of "Ricardus de Striguil" in Lazamon's "Kinard of Strugul", and notes that he turns the unfamiliar name of "Trigerne" into "Strugul" (III, 105-6). Further evidence of close regional ties between writers, whether in Latin or in the vernacular, is supplied by Hue de Roteland's humorous criticism of Walter Map, Ipomedon, ll. 7173-91.
28. See below p. 150.
29. op.cit., p. 10.
30. The first citizen roll of Dublin, taken by Henry 11 during his visit, lists names from France, Flanders, Scandanavia, and every part of England. See Orpen, op.cit., I, 271.



32. In this context it can be noted that the scenes in Horn in which the heads of dead enemies are presented to victorious kings, are matched by a similar scene in Dermot(p.59), and thus would seem to be less the echoes of older traditions(Pope,ed.cit.,II,11), than the reflection of Irish custom at the time.
33. Orpen,Dermot, p.iv
34. op.cit.,pp.xx-xxii.
35. op.cit.,p.xxi.
36. Materials for the History of Thomas Becket,ed.J.C.Robertson, R.S.67(London,1877),III,43.
37. Itinerary of King Richard 1,ed.L.Landon,Pipe Roll Society, New Ser.XIII(London,1935),p.16.
38. See below pp.154.
39. See below p.151.
40. Itinerary,loc.cit.
41. Rouen,1st Sept.1197, Itinerary,p.121.
42. "With the exception of John de Monmouth, and William de Percy who was a minor, every descendant of Richard FitzGilbert de Clare who was of baronial rank was among the enemies of King John in 1215." Painter,King John,p.290.
43. Pope,ed.cit.,I,ix-xii.
44. She was still living in 1185, when her marriage was recorded as being in the gift of the king, but probably not in 1189 as she is not mentioned in connexion with her daughter's marriage:CP,X,357.

45. Orpen, Ireland, II, 199-233.
46. See Legge, Literature, pp. 85-88. The terminus a quo is provided by the reference to the siege of Rouen in 1174, and the terminus adquem by the death of Gilbert Fitz-Baderon in 1191.
47. ll. 12698-733.
48. For an account of Gilbert Fitz-Baderon and his ancestors, see H.L.D. Ward, Catalogue of Romances in the Dept. of MSS. in the British Museum, 3 vols. (London, 1883), I, 729.
49. I follow the Complete Peerage, X, 348, and J.H. Round, Feudal England (London, 1895, reset 1964), p. 359, in making Rohaise the sister of Gilbert of Pembroke, and not the daughter as do Ward, op.cit., I, 729, and Legge, Literature, pp. 85-6; their father, Gilbert Fitz-Richard was never Earl of Pembroke.
50. For the common origins of Chepstow and Monmouth castles see Nelson, op.cit., p. 74.
51. Painter, King John, pp. 239, 278.
52. Fourteenth century fragments of both romances also survive, see App. I.
53. See Ward, op.cit., I, 747-8.
54. See Hibbard, Medieval Romance, pp. 224-5, and below p. 257.
55. M.R. James, The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover (Cambridge, 1903), p. 372.
56. See Hibbard, op.cit.,

57. "Beviz de Hampton" in the Catalogue of Leicester Abbey in 1482, see E.Savage, Old English Libraries (London, 1911), p.107; "Befiutz de Hamton" in the will of Thomas de Stotevyle, 1459-60, see Wilson, Lost Literature, p.147; "Beufis de Hampton" in the will of Nicholas of Hereford, Prior of Evesham in 1392, see W.A.Hulton, Documents relating to the Priory of Penwortham (Chetham Society XXX, 1853), p.94.
58. Literature, p.159.
59. Martin, op.cit., p.185.
60. See above p.148 and CP, I, 235-6. Richard 1 and his party stayed at Arundel for the night of October 14/15th 1189; this could be another possible occasion for the origin of Boeve. See Itinerary, pp.11-12.
61. DNB, I, 234, CP, I, 233-5, W.Farrer, Honors and Knights' Fees (London, 1925), III, 7-10.
62. DNB, loc.cit., CP, I, 235-6, Farrer, op.cit., p.12.
63. Painter, op.cit., p.20, Farrer, op.cit., pp.12-13.
64. Painter, op.cit., p.297.
65. See the family tree of de Clare above p.147.
66. See Farrer, Honors, p.15, I.J.Sanders, English Baronies (Oxford, 1960), p.2.
67. Martin, op.cit., pp.186-7.
68. See below Chapter Six.
- 69.



69. Even the content of Waldef does not seem too far fetched when some of the earlier history of Norfolk is considered. Ralph de Gael, first earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, may have been given the title by William 1 in recognition of his defeat of a Norse invasion in 1069. In 1075 he joined Earl Waltheof of Northumberland in a plot against the king. On the failure of the plot he fled to Denmark, leaving his wife to defend Norwich castle, and eventually made an unsuccessful attempt to return to England with a fleet of Danish ships. He and his wife were exiled to Brittany, and finally both died on Crusade. The lands went to the Bigods. See CP, IX, 572-4.
70. For the history of the Bigods see CP, IX, 589 ff. Legge's account, Literature, pp. 145-6, is full of inaccuracies.
71. Although not always consistently; "It is not known if he (Roger Bigod) fought, or on which side, at the battle of Lewes." CP, IX, 592.
72. CP, IX, 596.
73. The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond, ed. H. E. Butler (London, 1949), p. 57.
74. Orpen, Ireland, IV, 264.
75. The name Marshall apparently occurs in the margin of the Phillips ms., see Legge, Literature, p. 146.
76. See his article on Waldef in Dictionnaire.
77. CP, IX, 243 ff.
78. CP, IX, 244. He had already witnessed two charters for William the Lion. See also Fantosme, Chronicle, p. 358.
79. Ferrer, Honors, p. 385.

80. ibid.
81. Ferrer, Honors, p.387. His son, William, became steward to the Earl Warenne in 1238, an example of the type of steward discussed above p.119.
82. It is an interesting coincidence that the lost "Lancelot" belonged to a Hugh de Morville, probably Alan of Galloway's father-in-law, see family tree p.158 and below p.172.
83. The contents include Erec, Chevalier au Lion, and Roman de la Charrette by Chretien, a Launcelot, a Gawain, and a prose Grail, Renart, and Li Biaux Desconneus: see Martin, ed.cit., p.v.
84. Martin, ed.cit., p.vi.
85. See Legge, Literature, pp.161-2, and "Some Notes on the Roman de Fergus," Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Soc.Trans., 3rd Ser.XXVII(1950), 163-172.
86. op.cit., pp.171-2.
87. For the career of the historical Fergus see Douglas's Scots Peerage, ed.J.B.Paul(Edinburgh, 1907), IV, 135 ff.
88. See M.Schlauch, "The Historical Background of Fergus and Galiene," PMLA, XLIV(1929), 371.
89. Scots Peerage, IV, 140 ff.
90. This is perhaps not so remarkable in view of the Franco-Scottish links since the first alliance of 1198. It may also be relevant to note that Vising states that continental French was taught in Scotland as much as Anglo-Norman, op.cit., p.25.
91. op.cit., 373-4.
92. For the implications of this see below p.327.

93. See K.G.T. Webster, "Galloway and the Romances," MLN, LV(1940)363-5: "One is led to conjecture that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries this region was a focus of romance the embers of which were the well-known English/Scottish Gawaine poems of two centuries later." For further discussion of this point see below pp.346-7.
94. Quoted by Schlauch, op.cit., p.369.
95. Alan seems to be in strange company here - could he himself have been the subject of a romance?
96. See Ewert, ed.cit., I, iv-vii, Legge, Literature, p.162.
97. CP, XII, 2, 365.
98. ibid.
99. Langtoft's Chronicle, p.xxiii.
100. S. Bentley, Excerpta Historica (London, 1831), pp.64-84,  
M. Jubinal, Nouveau Recueil (Paris, 1842), II, 339-353,  
Fr. Michel, Mémoires de Jean, sire de Joinville (Paris, 1858), pp.  
327-353. All page references are to Michel's edition.
101. James, Libraries, p.372.
102. See M. Blaess, "L'Abbaye de Bordesley et les livres de Guy de Bauchamp," Romania, LXXVIII(1957), 511-18. She states that the poem is not known but was probably the history of William Longespee, son of Henry 11. The same mistake is made by Karl Brunner in his edition of the Middle English Richard Löwenherz (Wien & Leipzig, 1913), p.468.
103. Any such anti-French feeling is absent from the account of the battle given by Robert of Gloucester, Chronicle, ed. T. Wright, R.S. 86 (London, 1887), II, 10951-4.



104. The description of the closing of the gates behind the Christians, trapping them in the city, is one of the few places where the poet achieves a dramatic effect: pp. 333-4.
105. Chronica Majora, ed. H. R. Luard, R.S. 57 (London, 1872), V, 173, and see p. 342 for the Sultan's report of miracles at Longespee's tomb. The vision is also reported in Flores Historiarum, ed. Luard, R.S. 95 (London, 1890), II, 365, Trivet, Annales, pp. 237-8, Dugdale, Monasticon, ed. J. Caley (London, 1846), VI, i, 501, Annals of Lacock Abbey, ed. W. L. Bowles and J. G. Nichols (London, 1835), App. 1.
106. Founded by her in 1230, she became abbess in 1239. She was greatly influenced by St. Edmund of Abingdon, and it may have been for her that he wrote his Merure de Ste. Eglise; see Legge, Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters (Edinburgh, 1950), pp. 92, 96.
107. See R. S. Crane, "The Vogue of Guy of Warwick," PMLA, XXX (1915), 125-194.
108. For ME mss. see below p. 249, for AN mss. see App. 1.
109. The catalogue of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury lists three copies of "Gesta guidonis de Warewik" in gallico" and two of "Gesta Guydonis de Warwyk", all of which are now lost, as well as the extant copy now Corpus C. 50; see James, Libraries, pp. 372-3. "Guydo de Warewyk in quaterno" is twice listed in the catalogue of Titchfield Abbey; see R. M. Wilson, "The Medieval Library of Titchfield Abbey," Leeds Philological and Literary Soc. Proc. 1940, pp. 272, 274.
110. Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, b. 1272, and another Guy de Beauchamp d. 1355; CP, XII, 2, 370, 375.
111. CP, XII, 2, 377 note (b).
112. N. H. Nicolas, Testamenta Vetusta (London, 1826), I, 154-5, 79.

113. See Keen, Outlaws, pp. 47-50, and below p. 295-7. Links with another popular hero, Dick Whittington, are closer, as he married Fouke's niece; see Francis, Background, p. 327.
114. R.W. Eyton, Antiquities of Shropshire (London, 1863), VII, 78.
115. See Legge, Literature, p. 171. A lawsuit in 1256 between Fouke IV and a Thomas Corbet, who called Fouke III a traitor, may have been the occasion of the poem; see Eyton, op.cit. pp. 80-81, and Francis, op.cit.
116. Eyton, op.cit., VII, 83.
117. That he is familiar with the Abbey is apparent in his description of Fouke's tomb: "a grant honour fust enterré a la Novele Abbeie. De la alme de cui Dieus est merci! Joste le auter gist le cors." (p. 86), and in his account of the foundation of the Abbey: "pres de Alderburs, en le bosshage sur la rivere de Sauverne." (p. 83).
118. The contents include a Latin service in honour of Thomas of Lancaster, a Latin Prophecies of Merlin, a Brut in English, and the Anglo-Norman Amis e Amilun; see Ward, Catalogue, I, 501.
119. De Rebus Britannicie Collectanea, I, 236.
120. "The Sources of Fouke Fitzwarin," MLN, L (1935), 13-15. But U.T. Holmes, in his article on Fouke in Dictionnaire remarks of Fouke's descendants: "peut-être s'amusaient-ils à voir en leur aieul un Robin Hood et un tueur de dragons."
121. Painter, op.cit., p. 14.
122. Francis, op.cit., p. 236, suggests a connexion with the FitzAlan family who owned the Perlesvaux ms.



123. This point is discussed below p.176-183.
124. Cf. a historian's warning against seeing the history of the time solely in terms of major events:  
 "It is so easy to forget...that the first concern of barons was with wives and children, with mothers, cousins, nephews, with manors, castles, and estate boundaries. Because chronicles tell of the politics of the king's council we tend to forget the politics of the badchamber. A Baron's ambition for his heir, his concern for his widow if he died in war, his conversations with his brother-in-law, are no less important, no less a part of the warp and weft of the past, just because we know so little about them...Magna Carta is largely concerned with succession dues and wardship, with widows and fish-weirs, with forest law and forced marriage."  
 W.L.Warren, King John (London, 1949), p.180. e/
125. "The hand of Henry 11 bore heavily on his English barons. He deprived them of their offices as sheriffs and constables of royal castles...In all probability, the last years of Henry 11 saw the royal power in England at the highest level it was to reach before the Tudor period."  
 Sidney Painter, Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony, John Hopkins Studies in History and Political Science, Ser.LXI, No.3 (1943), p.193.
126. Camb.Med.Hist., VI, 324-8.
127. Galeran de Bretagne, ll. 3397-8.
128. Bloch considers that after the reign of Henry 11:  
 "the aim of the magnates in their rebellions was henceforth much less to tear the kingdom asunder than to dominate it."  
op.cit., p.443.
129. See F.M.Powicke, Henry 111 and the Lord Edward (Oxford, 1947), p.142 ff., and L.P.Salzman, Edward 1 (London, 1968), pp.161, 196.
130. This applies especially to the "laws of St.Edward"; see J.C. Holt, Magna Carta (Cambridge, 1965), pp.96-8.



131. J.E.Martin draws attention to a letter from Adam Marsh mentioning a treatise written by Grosseteste for Simon de Montfort c1252, on "the principles of kingship and tyranny."; op.cit., p.215.
132. Holt, Northerners, p.253. He is referring specifically to Arthurian romance, but the same is even more true of the ideal rulers of insular romance. Powicke suggests a similar influence at work during the reign of Henry 111: "We are dealing with men who lived well, loved tournaments, and liked romances better than law books." op.cit., p.342.
133. See esp. the "Song of Lewes", ed.T.Wright, The Political Songs of England(London, 1839), pp.72-121.
134. Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines, ed.E.J.Arnould, A.N.T.S., II (Oxford, 1940).
135. R.M.Wilson concludes that these seem to have been popular "histories" from the reign of John; Lost Literature, p.117.

Notes to Chapter Four

1. S. Moore, "General Aspects of Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages," The Library, 3rd. Ser. IV (1913), 369-392.
2. Legge, Literature, p. 99. points out that as the mother of Aaluf is said to be Goldburc, he himself would seem to be none other than Havelok, but the connexion remains a mystery, as does that between Horn, Haveloc, and the Hereward legend, see Hibbard, op.cit., pp. 92-3.
3. Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, Lanzelet, trans. K.G.T. Webster (Columbia, 1951). Amongst other possible lost Anglo-Norman romances listed by Vising are, "The Romance of the Challenge", a romance of Richard Coeur de Lion, a Life of Meriadoc, and Partenopeus; op.cit., p. 61.
4. Cf. the description of Ipomedon's beauty:  
 "de sa beaute, quant il entra, / Tute la sale enlumina" ll. 395-6  
 with that of Horn:  
 "de la beaute de Horn la mesun en resplent" line. 1054.  
 and see below Ch. 6, notes 55, 56.
5. See Lanzelet, Introduction.
6. See below pp. 318-9.
7. For an account of Thomas's use of the laisse see Pope ed.cit., II, 21-28. See also Legge, "La versification anglo-normande au XIIe siècle," Mélanges offerts à René Crozet, ed. P. Gallais and Y-J. Riou (Poitiers, 1966), I, 639-43. She concludes that the Anglo-Norman poets were "pionniers au début du siècle, conservateurs et arrières à la fin."
8. Biller, op.cit. includes Ipomedon in his analysis of the style of early French romance. See also Pope, ed.cit., II, 10-15 on the style of Horn.
9. For Gui see below pp. 249-56, for Ipomedon, pp. 267-278.

10. Dieter Mehl, The Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries (London, 1968, first publ. Heidelberg, 1967, as Die mittelenglischen Romanzen des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts), Ch. 2.
11. This is discussed further below pp. 214-236.
12. The romance breaks down into the following sections, divided by scene; ll. 1-2165, Brittany, ll. 2166-3920, Ireland, ll. 3921-4584, Brittany, ll. 4586-4960, Suddene, ll. 4961-5240, ending. C. Gellinek, "The Romance of Horn: A Structural Survey," Neuphil. Mittel., LXVI (1965), 301-3, argues for a tripartite structure both geographically and thematically, designed to fit the scheme of the overall trilogy. His conclusions are made less valuable by his argument that the poet is proved to be interested in war rather than in love by the lengthy middle section, laisses 56-184. However, this section contains only 54 laisses on the battles compared with 66 on the courts and the affairs with Rigmel and Lenburc. In fact the romance is far more integrated than this tripartite theory allows.
13. For a detailed analysis of the structure of Ipomedon see the table below p. 258.
14. After the first day's tourney, in the course of which Ipomedon had presented La Fiere with three horses, he arrives back at the queen's court with three stags' heads as the booty of his day's hunting. The second day's tourney is a rather vague affair from which he returns with an indeterminate number of deer. On the third day, in which he has dominated the field disguised as the Black Knight, he praises the deeds of "un men brachet neir Braillement" (6511). The fight between the brothers Drias and Candor during the tournament (5990 ff.) introduces a theme taken up again in the French war (7200-665) and leading to the final fight between Ipomedon and his unrecognised brother, Capaneus.



15. ll. 3890 ff., 4585 ff., 6163ff.
16. There are three sections marked by changes of scene;  
 a) ll. 1-365, taking the action up to Boeve's departure from England, b) ll. 366-c800, set in Egypt, describing Boeve's youth and Josiane's love for him, c) ll. 800-1268, set mainly in Damascus, and including the journey there and an account of Josiane's fate in the meantime. These three episodes are of almost equal length, being of 365, 435, and 468 lines respectively, and show some clarity and coherence in the arrangement of material. Cf. in Waldef, the Terri episode (15,817-17,068) and the Lioine episode (18,229-19,758).
17. See below pp.253-4 and note.
18. For example, Episode 9) ll. 9393-10774; Gui meets Terri de Guarleine, a friend who also featured in the previous German episode, and who is now being persecuted by the Duc de Pavie, nephew of another villain of the same name, who has challenged him to a duel. Gui, in disguise, goes to the Emperor's court and challenges the villain. The whole city turns out to watch the duel, which is indecisive, and when it is adjourned until the next day, the Duc de Pavie plots to kill Gui. While he is asleep Gui's bed, with him in it, is launched out to sea. The next day Gui reappears at the last minute, having been rescued by a fisherman, resumes the duel and kills the Duc. Still incognito, he reunites Terri with his wife, sees him reconciled with the Emperor, and finally discloses his identity. He refuses to stay with his friends, and resumes his incognito wandering across Europe. This episode follows a common pattern; the audience are familiar with both Terri and the Duc de Pavie, the action is dramatic and - within the episode - unrepetitive. The hero has a double task to perform - to rescue his friend, and to rid the Empire of a corrupt traitor. The central event, the duel, is interrupted by the inevitable second complication, the very novel attempt on the hero's life. By a stroke of luck this second danger is averted, the villain is overcome, and Terri and the Empire freed from oppression. Gui moves on to the next adventure.

19. Thus A.C. Baugh, "Improvisation in the Middle English romances," PAPS, CIII (1959), 418 ff., finds only two types among the Middle English Matter of England romances - the short, structurally simple type such as King Horn and Haveloc, and the long episodic type such as Guy and Bevis. This serves as a measure of the difference between Anglo-Norman and Middle English narrative technique.
20. See below Chapter 8.
21. In view of these conclusions on the narrative techniques of Anglo-Norman writers, Kittredge's description of that of the putative source for Sir Gawain and the Green Knight is of some interest: "a first-rate raconteur who combined two independent stories into a single plot with a high degree of constructive ability, and he was master of a flowing and limpid style exquisitely adapted to straightforward storytelling." A Study of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (Harvard, 1916), p. 129.

Notes to Chapter Five

1. See especially, Vising, op.cit., pp. 12-27; P. Studer, The Study of Anglo-Norman (Oxford, 1920); R.W. Chambers, On the Continuity of English Prose, EETS, OS, 186 (London, 1932); A.C. Baugh, A History of the English Language (New York, 1935, 2nd ed. rev. ed. London, 1965), chapters 5 & 6; M.D. Legge, "Anglo-Norman and the Historian," History, XXVI (1941), 163-75; R.M. Wilson, "English and French in England, 1100-1300," History, XXVIII (1943), 37-60.
2. See The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching, ed. M.A.K. Halliday, A. McIntosh and P. Strevens (London, 1964), pp. 77-79.
3. For a more general discussion of this point see H.J. Chaytor, From Script to Print (Cambridge, 1945, repr. 1966), pp. 23-26.
4. op.cit., pp. 36-37.
5. See Waldef, ll. 53-4, Ipomedon, ll. 25-32. Other examples are given by Vising, op.cit., pp. 15-17.
6. Line 345.
7. ll. 4011-3.
8. p. 41.
9. V.H. Galbraith, "Nationality and Language in Medieval England," TRHS, XXIII (1941), 113-28; Chaytor, op.cit., chapter III.
10. See below Chapter Seven, note 15.
11. See Appx. II



12. See M. Deansley, "Vernacular Books in England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," MLR, XV (1920), 350 ff; S. L. Thrupp, The Merchant Class of Medieval London (Chicago, 1948), pp. 162-3, 248-9; R. M. Wilson, Lost Literature, esp. pp. 107-9, and "More Lost Literature in Old and Middle English," Leeds Studies in English, VI (1937), 30-49.
13. See esp. H. Suggett, "The Use of French in England in the later Middle Ages," TRHS, XXVIII (1946), 61-83; Beryl Smalley, English Friars and Antiquity in the early Fourteenth Century (Oxford, 1960), pp. 12-14; Legge, op.cit.; Chambers, op.cit., pp. cx-cxv.
14. A recent discussion of this point by Derek Pearsall, John Lydgate (London, 1970), pp. 49-50, re-emphasises the importance of Chaucer to the improvement in the status of English.
15. "Even today the Latin races stress etiquette and chivalrous conduct, where the English race stresses prowess in outdoor sports..." A. B. Taylor, An Introduction to Medieval Romance (London, 1930), p. 151.
16. See Everett, Essays, pp. 1-22.
17. See Auerbach, Mimesis, pp. 133 ff.
18. W. W. Comfort, "The Essential Difference between a Chanson de Geste and a Roman d'Aventure," PMLA, XIX (1904), 64-74.
19. See above Chapter 2(a) note 78.
20. D. M. Hill, "Romance as Epic," Eng. Stud., XLIV (1963), 95-107 (p. 105).

21. Among recent examples of occasions on which Anglo-Norman romance could contribute to Middle English studies, is the article by H. Nimchinsky, "Orfeo, Guillaume and Horn," Rom.Phil., XXII(1968), 1-14. This would profit from a consideration of Anglo-Norman romance as the possible common denominator between Guillaume d'Angleterre, King Horn, Ulrich's Lanzelet, and what might be called, in our terms, the "historical" theme in Sir Orfeo.
- Another possible line of enquiry suggests itself from the list of "epic" characteristics G.V. Smithers finds in the Middle English Kyng Alisaunder, EETS, OS, 237(London, 1957), Introduction. Several of these can be paralleled in Anglo-Norman romance which suggests that this may have been one source of the author's knowledge of "chanson" material.
22. H.L. Creek, "Character in the "Matter of England" Romances," JEGP, X(1911), 600.
23. J.E. Wells, A Manual of the Writings in Middle English(New Haven, 1916), p.2.
24. Gervase Matthew, "Marriage and "Amour Courtois" in late Fourteenth Century England," Essays presented to Charles Williams(Oxford, 1947), p.133.
25. M. Schlauch, English Medieval Literature(Warsaw, 1956), p.175.
26. T.P. Dunning, "God and Man in Troilus and Criseyde," English and Medieval Studies presented to J.R.R. Tolkien(London, 1962), p.166.
27. English Literature Medieval(London, 1912, repr. 1925), pp.104-7.
28. Early Middle English Literature(London, 1939, 3rd.ed. 1968), pp.217-225.

29. A.McI.Tronce, "The English Tail-Rhyme Romances," Med.Aev., I(1932), 87-108; II(1933), 34-57, 189-98; III(1934), 30-50.
30. op.cit., pp. 151-2.
31. A Literary History of England, I: The Middle Ages (New York, 1948, 2nd.ed. London, 1967), Chapter IV, and English Language, pp. 140-141.
32. Middle English Romances, YMT(London, 1966).
33. "The Development of Middle English Romance," Medieval Studies, XXVII(1965), 91-116(p.97).
34. loc.cit.
35. Although Mehl, op.cit., p.20, classifies romances such as Havelok as legends of "founders".



Notes to Chapter Six

1. Ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS, ES, 4 (London, 1868), 2nd ed. revised by K. Sisam (Oxford, 1915) whose emendations are reproduced here.
2. Whether the English version comes from a French or an English original has long been a subject of controversy. Skeat, ed.cit., p. xxxiv, argues for a hypothetical English original, and this argument is supported by H. Heyman, Studies on the Havelok-Tale (Uppsala, 1903). But E. Fahnstock, A Study of the Sources and Composition of the Old French Lai d'Haveloc (Bryn Mawr, 1915), and H. Creek, "The Author of Havelok the Dane," Englische Studien, XLVIII (1914), 196-9, both consider the source to have been French. For further discussion of critical opinions, see Hibbard, Medieval Romance, pp. 106-7, and A. H. Billings, A Guide to the Middle English Metrical Romances (New York, 1901) pp. 21-2. For an account of the relationship between the two Anglo-Norman versions see above p. 26 and notes.
3. Arguments put forward for dating the poem have been various, but are restricted to the period 1280-1303. See Skeat, ed.cit., pp. xxiii-xxv.
4. One of the most perceptive and lengthy appreciations is that of Creek, op.cit., pp. 193-212. See also Mehl, Romances, pp. 160-172.
5. See Skeat, ed.cit., pp. iv-xix.
6. See above pp. 132-3.
7. See Mehl, op.cit., pp. 169-172; Wells, Manual, p. 15; O. Krotz, "Treason in Middle English Metrical Romances," Phil. Quart., XLV (1966), 668 ff. A. C. Baugh, Literary History, p. 117, considers the romance to be "almost democratic in tone" and J. Weiss, "Structure and Characterisation in Havelok the Dane," Spec., XLIV (1969), 251, finds "a feeling for national unity that reflects the emergence of English nationalism in the thirteenth century." But Taylor, Introduction, p. 131, sees it as a reflection of "the ideals of England in the tenth and eleventh centuries where

there was a strong bond of unity between all classes of freemen." See also note 10 below.

8. See above pp.112-116.
9. ll. 45-50. Cf. Bede's Ecclesiastical History, ed. B. Colgrave & R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), II, 16; The Peterborough Chronicle, s.a. 1135; Lazamon's Brut, ll. 21639-42, and the passage in Gui de Warewic quoted below p.202.
10. But cf. the note in Middle English Metrical Romances, ed. W. H. French and C. B. Hale (New York, 1930, reissue 1964), p.75:  
 "An unusual portrait of a king. In romance of French or Breton origin, a king is usually 1) a good hearted dupe 2) a thorough villain 3) a convenient ornament....4) a deus ex machina...  
 Athelston, however, is more like the kings in Beowulf, brave, able to keep order, hard on his enemies...The poet's own king, Edward 1, was noted for his zeal in revising and enforcing laws to maintain peace..." Creek, op.cit., p.207, also accepts that Edward 1 could have inspired the description of Athelwold. In "Character", he draws attention to the parallel descriptions of the just stewards in Guy and Bevis, although he refers only to the Middle English versions of these romances, which postdate Havelok. However, his 'sketch of an "English" type of ideal romance king is very similar to the characteristic Anglo-Norman one. (pp.442-3) The general critical attitude to this passage can be summed up by Wells, Manual, p.15: "The opening passage...would come home to the people, who in the thirteenth century were complaining more and more of the wretchedness of the poor, the prevalence of robbers, and the uncertainty of the law." While this may account for the appeal of the passage, it makes no allowances for literary antecedents.
11. For his character in the Anglo-Norman versions see above pp.132-3 Weiss, op.cit., compares the three versions to show that Havelok is given more dignity in the English version.



12. This point is discussed at length by R.W.Hanning, "Havelok the Dane: Structure, Symbols and Meaning," Studies in Philology, LXIV(1967), 586-606.
13. Kratins, op.cit., notes that Havelok also behaves as an ideal king in bringing both treason cases before parliament.
14. ll. 1355-1390; 2520-2525.
15. See above p.118.
16. See above p.119.
17. Godrich himself makes use of national feeling by inciting his supporters against Havelok's "uten-laddes" (2580).
18. ll. 308-9; 514-5.
19. See above p.117ff Weiss, op.cit., 255-6, compares the two villains in detail.
20. See also ll. 1712-3, 1914, 2511, 2981.
21. Ker, in English Literature, praises the romance for its depiction of "common life and uncourtly manners"(p.119); cf. Hibbard, op.cit., p.106, and Taylor, op.cit., p.131. Mehl, op.cit., adds that "their homely content does in no way detract from their literary character."(pp.164-5).
22. See above p.132.
23. The significance of the different types of the supernatural is discussed above pp.95-97. This type of angelic voice is found in thirteenth century Anglo-Norman romances - Fergus, Gui and Fouke Fitzwarin.



24. Bruce Dickins, "The Names of Grim's Children in the Havelok Story," Stud. Neophil., XIV(1941), 114, considers that these names were introduced by the English author, and states that "Hugh, Robert and William are among the commonest baptismal names current in the Angevin period." Creek, "Author", 205, considers that the names have "a homely flavour" as does Hibbard, op.cit., p.106. E.Reiss, "Havelok the Dane and Norse Mythology," MLQ, XXVII(1966), 121-3, arguing for an original identification of Grim with Odin, suggests that "Hugh Raven" comes from Norse mythology in which Odin has a raven called Huginn. He goes on to suggest that as the sons' names have mythological origins - although he finds none for the other two - they must have been present in the original and were deleted from the more courtly French versions. But this would account only for the omission of the surnames, as there is no reason for a French poet to delete names such as Robert, William and Hugh.
25. See O.E.D. under "pasty" and "flawn".
26. The structural importance of the feasts is discussed by Hanning, op.cit.
27. See above Ch.2(c). D.S.Brewer, Chaucer and Chaucerians (London, 1966), p.11, ignores the literary antecedents of the passage, and considers it indicative of the tastes of the audience.
28. These sports are traditionally linked, cf. the lyric quoted by M.Forster, "Kleinere Mittelenglische Texte;" Anglia, XLIII(1918), 145-224: "Atte wrestlinge mi lemman i ches, and atte ston-kasting i him for-les"(152).
29. "Hasard" and "mine" are often mentioned together in French epic and romance, for example, Erec, 1420, Chev.a l'espee, 803. For further examples see Godefroi, V, 335, under "mine". "Buttinge" derives from OFr. "bouter": cf. Horn, "par desuz sun escu vers sun quor est butant"(4819), and Godefroi, I, 711, under "bouter". In view of this, and the culinary vocabulary noted above, the opinion that the diction of Havelok is "unpolished" (Wells) is unconvincing.

30. Even his prowess at wrestling is to be found, although in far less detail, in the Lai, ll. 153-8, 266-7, 368-70.
31. Cf. the passage from Boeve quoted above p.100.
32. Although Martin, op.cit., pp.254-5, suggests the patronage of the bishops of Lincoln, perhaps even Grosseteste himself.
33. Earlier critics were unanimous in the opinion that the romance was of a lowly origin; according to Ten Brink, English Literature (London, 1887), p.227, the character of Havelok "presents an ideal which must have powerfully attracted a subjugated Teutonic population"; Ker, op.cit., p.119, considered that Havelok "is worth reading as a good specimen of popular English poetry"; Wells, Manual, p.15, states that "it was probably told by a wandering gleeman in kitchen or at village gathering place, not in bower or in hall. It is a story...told for the common people from the point of view of the populace." Cf. Hibbard, op.cit., p.106, "Havelok was certainly meant for minstrel recitation, not for reading, and for an altogether popular audience." More recently, Wilson, Early Middle English, p.224, says "there can be no doubt that this (the lower class) was the class for which Havelok was written", and Brunner, "The Middle English Metrical Romances and Their Audiences," Essays in honour of A.C.Baugh, ed. MacE. Leach (Philadelphia, 1961), 219-227, says that it was "probably...recited by a minstrel on market days in town squares." (p.223)

On the other hand, Creek, "Author", was sure that Havelok was not a minstrel romance and that the author was a cleric. Baugh, op.cit., p.177, considers that it reflects "the spirit of the English middle class"; Schlauch, op.cit., p.177, suggests an upper-class audience; Mehl, op.cit., p.166, says that "there is no doubt that the poem is addressed not to a courtly, but to a middle class audience". One of the most recent opinions is that of G.T. Shepherd, History of Literature in the English Language. I, The Middle Ages, ed. W.F. Bolton (London, 1970), p.75: "The English Havelok emerges as a deliberately popular piece, aimed at an uncourtly audience...accustomed to the values and cultural standards of the provincial household."



34. See the passages quoted above ppp.203,210 and ll. 1328, 2012, 2195, 2466.
35. Appreciation of the highly literary and rhetorical quality of the romance's deceptively simple style has played an important part in its recent revaluation by critics; see Mehl,op.cit.,p.165.
36. One symptom of this is the number of proverbs that the author has introduced into his version; see B.J.Whiting, "Proverbs in Certain Middle English Romances," Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature,XV(1933),75-126.
37. Ed.J.Hall(Oxford,1901); G.McKnight,EETS,OS,14(London,1901). Line references are to the EETS edition.
38. Cambridge U.L.Gg.4.27.2, dating from the mid-13th century, Harley 2253, of the early 14th century, and Laud Misc.108, post 1310; see McKnight,ed.cit.,pp.xxviii-ix. All quotations are taken from Ms.C. as edited by McKnight, except where L. provides a clearer or fuller reading.
39. op.cit.,p.49.
40. ed.cit.,p.vii. It is now generally accepted that King Horn is later than the Anglo-Norman version; see Schofield, "The Story of Horn and Rimenhild,"PMLA,XVIII(1903),1-84, and Hibbard,Medieval Romance,p.86. For a summary of earlier opinions favouring the priority of the English version, see Billings, Guide, pp.1-12, Hibbard,op.cit.,p.86,note 3.
41. Pope, "The Romance of Horn and King Horn" p.164.
42. But compare the conclusions on Horn Childe below pp.230-6.
43. A similar conclusion as to Thomas's procedure is reached by Pope,ed.cit.,II,19-21.



44. There is no agreement or final proof as to the language in which this original was written, although the existence of at least one version of the Horn story earlier than those that survive is now generally recognised. Schofield, op.cit., p.81, suggests that it was an Anglo-Norman romance or lay, itself derived from an Old English original. Pope, op.cit., suggests that an English poem, composed c1170-80, is the common source of both versions. W.H.French, Essays on King Horn, (Ithaca, 1940), p.143, sees the immediate source as a Norman-French lay. It is now considered that the common source was a simple love story, not as was thought earlier, a saga-type tale with a real historical basis. See Pope, op.cit., Severs, Manual, p.20.
45. The most extreme example of this tendency is to be found in French, op.cit., where a perceptive and detailed study of the English version is combined with a virulent attack against the "florid transformation" of a "glib novelist" - the version of Thomas. The reverse process is responsible for the widespread view that King Horn is an uncourtly poem, for example, Hibbard, op.cit., p.86: "In comparison with the French version, King Horn seems as abrupt as it is virile and primitive. The poet cares nothing for the knowing courtliness of Thomas...the English Horn (has) a popular, ballad-like quality."
46. See the detailed discussion of this point by French, op.cit., pp.2-19.
47. For an account of the treatment of the Saracens in the chansons see Beatrice White, "Saracens and Crusaders: from Fact to Allegory," Medieval Literature and Civilisation, ed. D.Pearsall & R.A.Waldron (London, 1970), 170-191.
48. This has been seen by Schofield and others as indicative of the more primitive quality of King Horn, as it is closer to the historical conditions of the Viking invasions.

49. The Romance of Horn ll. 3165 ff., reverses the sequence of this to emphasise the thought of his father rather than the effect of the ring.
50. op.cit., p.51. Cf. Wells, Manual, p.10, who finds "nothing of feudal relations" in the poem.
51. D.M.Hill, "An Interpretation of King Horn," Anglia, LXXV(1957), 157 ff.
52. Cf. above p.118, especially the description of Pentalis's castle by the sea in Protheselaus.
53. See The Romance of Horn, I, 153-4.
54. By contrast with the first feast in Havelok, quoted above p.209.
55. As does the Anglo-Norman Horn. McKnight, ed.cit., note to l. 239, draws attention to a similar passage in the Middle English Ipomadon. He suggests that that romance may be drawing directly on the Anglo-Norman Horn, but does not take into account the likelihood that such details would come from Hue de Roteland's Ipomedon. Both Anglo-Norman romances share a knowledge of the Tristan of Thomas. See
56. Cf. RH: "de la beaute de Horn la mesun en resplent"(1054), and Hall, ed.cit., note to l.385, for similar lines in Middle English. Cf. also Ipomedon: "de sa beaute, quant il entra/Tute la sale enlumina."(395-6), not in the Middle English versions.
57. Schofield, op.cit., p.3, thought that King Horn was intended for "public delivery before an audience of plain people", and Wells, Manual, p.10, thought that it was aimed "evidently not so much to cultivated as to popular audiences". Few critics have gone as far as French who sees it as "clearly a poem of the court" op.cit., p.7, but most would agree with Brewer, op.cit. p.11, in seeing the original audience as upper-class or bourgeois, although not associated with the royal court.



58. ed.Hall,King Horn,pp.179-192.
59. Although some points have been made in its defence by Trounce,op.cit.,I,106, II,51.
60. see McKnight,ed.cit.,p.xv; Hibbard,op.cit.,p.99.
61. Wells,Manual,p.12. Mehl,op.cit.,pp.52-6, discusses Horn Childe at some length without referring to the Haperolf section at all.
62. For a summary of opinion on this point see Hibbard,op.cit., pp.98-102.
63. See above p.44.
64. Many critics think the version of "Aaluf" referred to here is in fact the Romance of Horn; see above p.45 and note. Wilson,Lost Literature,pp.112-3, considers that an earlier version of the Aaluf story did exist, but doubts that it was in English.
65. See Schofield,op.cit.,p.74; Hibbard,op.cit.,p.100; T.E.Casson, "Horn Childe and the Battle of Stainmoor," Cumberland & Westmoreland Antiquarian & Archeological Soc.Trans.,XXXVII (1936),30-40.
66. Hibbard,loc.cit.and note 6; Trounce,op.cit.,II,52.
67. Trounce,loc.cit.
68. See Leach,Angevin Britain,p.331.
69. This phrase, reminiscent of Havelok "uten-laddes"(ll. 2153, 2580), occurs twice in the Haperolf section of Horn Childe, ll. 138, 168.



70. The germ of such a development is apparent in the Romance of Horn, ll. 262-268.
71. Trounce, op.cit., II, 51.
72. RH, ll. 274-80.
73. A district suitable for the flourishing of historical romance; see Holt, The Northerners.
74. ed. E. Kölbing, EETS, ES, 46, 48, 65 (London, 1885, 1886, 1894).
75. See ed.cit., vii-viii. Except where otherwise stated all quotations are from the Auchinleck text.
76. See above pp. 30-31. Where applicable the two versions are here distinguished by the spelling of the hero's name; "Boeve" in the Anglo-Norman, "Bevis" in Middle English.
77. The use of th $\bar{e}$  term "lordinges" within the romance itself suggests a status identical with "seignurs" - see ll. A.3333, M.2992, A.3349, M.3009.
78. The same applies to the first fragment of Boeve, which ends: "Si vus me volez de vestre argent doner"(433).
79. However, Taylor, op.cit., pp. 156-8, argues that the Middle English version is more popular than the Anglo-Norman because it is more sensational.
80. The details of his father's character supplied by the Chetham version sound a familiar note:  
 "He kepte well Englonde in his days,  
 He sett peas and stabelod the laws,  
 That no man was so hardye  
 To do another v $\bar{e}$ lonye." 41-6.
81. See Martin, op.cit., and Mehl, op.cit., pp. 216-7.

82. Martin,op.cit. Godrich in Havelok is also Earl of Cornwall, although it should perhaps be noted that another unpopular Earl of Cornwall from the time of the Middle English version, was Piers Gaveston.
83. Lombards - although in this case the inhabitants of Lombardy, not the bankers - are also cast in a villainous role in Gui: see the passage quoted below p.251.
84. See above p.124.
85. This may reflect the interest in the office shown by Simon de Montfort and his followers in the mid-13th century; cf. Denholm-Young,Richard of Cornwall,p.145:"since 1255, Simon de Montfort, who has been senescallus in Gascony, deliberately tried to raise the senescalia Anglie, as his family liked to call it, to the status of a great office, as it was for long in France...His aspirations served only to shroud the office in a cloak of mystery, beneath which there was in truth very little."
86. A girdle in the Anglo-Norman and Chetham versions, a ring in Auchinleck; see K8lbing's note to p.77.
87. The same conclusion has been reached about Fouke Fitzwarin, see above p.42.
88. The first of the two Anglo-Norman fragments, which takes the romance up to line 1268, is somewhat closer in quality and tone to the English.
89. Hoyt,"Home of the Bevis Saga," cites the close parallels in the basic tales of Bevis and Horn as proof of the insular, rather than continental, origins of Bevis. His case would be stronger if he took the argument back to the Anglo-Norman versions of the two romances, as it is at that stage that direct influence would seem to have taken place.

90. ed. J. Zupitza, *EETS*, ES, 42, 49, 59 (London, 1883, 1887, 1891);  
Cambridge version, ed. Zupitza, *EETS*, ES, 25, 26 (London, 1875-6).
91. See Zupitza, *ed. cit.*, II, vi-vii; Wells, *Manual*, p. 15.
92. See R. S. Crane, "The Vogue of Guy of Warwick," *PMLA*, XXX (1915),  
125-194.
93. See Appx. I.
94. For example, "now 3iue vs drinke wyne or ale" Ca. 1928, and  
Camb. 5859, 6687, 7117.
95. For a discussion of the significance of minstrel tags see  
A. C. Baugh, "The Middle English Romances - some Questions of  
Creation, Presentation and Preservation," *Spec.*, XLII (1967), 1-31.
96. The English also omits the Anglo-Norman comment on war and  
knight errantry: "Qui fiz a riches baruns esteient  
De loinz lur pris quere veneient  
Lur peres, quant le saverunt,  
Pur els grant duel demerrunt." 2201-4.
97. Cf. the *Ipomadon* translator's method of dealing with the  
same problem, discussed below pp. 273-6.
98. The Middle English retains a French phrase to give a courtly  
atmosphere to the first conversation between Felice and Guy:  
"Biaus amis, molt gramerci" Auch. 222.
99. For a discussion of the relationship between tournaments in  
life and in literature, see Cline, *op. cit.* However, if Ewert's  
dating of *Gui* to 1232-42 is accepted, rather than a date in  
the 12th century as assumed by Cline, this romance cannot  
have influenced the tournament at Mercersberg in 1226, as he  
suggests (p. 209) - although the reverse is possible.



100. ed. G. L. Morrill, *EETS*, ES, lxxv (London, 1898). For the relationship between Guy and the Speculum see Mehl, *op.cit.*, pp. 221-2, and L. H. Loomis, "The Auchinleck Manuscript and a possible London Bookshop of 1330-40," *PMLA*, LVII (1942), p. 595 ff. For the development of other separate treatments of parts of the legend, see Hibbard, *op.cit.*, pp. 130-1.
101. The map of the city of Winchester, published by the local council, identifies the field outside the city where the fight between Colbrond and "Guy, a pre-Conquest Earl of Warwick" (!) took place.
102. For further examples of Guy's reputation as a national hero, see Speculum Guy, p. lxx, note 2.
103. ed. E. K8lbing (Breslau, 1889).
104. See Hibbard, *op.cit.*, pp. 224-5.
105. See Hibbard, *loc.cit.*, and Severs, Manual, pp. 153-4. But Trounce, *op.cit.*, III, 41, suggests a North-East Midland origin for the romance, with the author trained in East Anglia.
106. These omissions and additions are quoted below p. 262 ff.
107. See below pp. 270-1.
108. In the Lyfe he is referred to as Ipomydon's uncle, "Sir Pers of Poyle" (1589).
109. See below p. 264 and note 116.
110. Ipomedon, ll. 9618-23.
111. See below p. 274.
112. Ward, Catalogue, I, 734-43, gives a full account of Hue's contemporary references.

113. ll. 1751-2.
114. ll. 2119-26 of the Anglo-Norman version.
115. See above pp.130-2 and below p.323 ff.
116. cf. the prose version, p.356: "thogh I be wake & werie, god is mightie & strong enough, to help me in my right, for thou art fals" quod he," and fightes in a fals quarell & I am redie to defend it in my right."
117. Anglo-Norman version, ll.408-413.
118. La Fiere's soliloquoy, 143 lines in the Anglo-Norman(956-1099) becomes 125 lines in the English version (911-1036), and Ismeine's soliloquoy is cut from 180 to 102 lines, but this passage has several lacunae in the English.
119. For a general account of medieval rhetoric with particular reference to Latin manuals see E.Faral, Les Arts Poétiques du Xile et du Xille Siècle(Paris, 1924); Biller, Etude, examines the style of several French romances including Ipomedon, and Warren, "Some Features of Style" IV, 661-2, gives some account of Hue's style.
120. The omission of those that occur in descriptive narrative is the main reason for the shorter Tournament.
121. cf. the passage quoted below p.274.
122. But see the discussion of the function of the tail-rhyme by Trounce, op.cit., I, 168, 174-80. He shows how characteristic of Ipomadon is the use of exclamation in the tail lines (p.175).
123. Trounce, op.cit., I, 171, demonstrates how common such alliterative phrases are in the tail-rhyme romances and evaluates their poetic function.

124. See below p.314 ff.
125. e.g. Chanson de Roland, ll. 998-1003; 1808-9.
126. For the results of such a translation see below p.277.
127. These lines have been suggested as a source for the tournament in the Knight's Tale; see Everett, Essays, p.141; The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed.F.N.Robinson(1933,2nd.ed. Oxford,1957),note to line 2600.
128. In the chansons it occurs as a conventional detail of description, literal not metaphorical, as in Roland,ll.1954-5:  
 "Oliver...fiert Marganices sur l'elme a or agut  
 E flurs e pierres en acraventet jus."  
 For similar examples from English romances see K8lbing,ed.cit., p.429.
129. ed.K8lbing,ed.cit.,pp.257-319. It comes from the East Midland region, dating 15th century; see Severs,Manual,p.154, Hibbard, op.cit.,p.225. We follow normal usage in referring to the tail-rhyme version as "Ipomadon A" and to the couplet version as "Ipomydon B".
130. See K8lbing,ed.cit.,p.lxv.
131. See Mehl,op.cit.,p.59.
132. op.cit.,pp.60-66.
133. Mehl,op.cit.,p.67.
134. But Trounce,op.cit.,III,40-41, considers that Ipomadon A occupies a special place in the evolution of the style.
135. Ipomadon A is as courtly as Hue's romance, but it is so in a very different manner, as we have seen. However, Mehl calls it "a very close translation."(p.68).



136. The third Middle English version of the romance, the 15th century prose version, shows a similar development to Ipomydon B, although in some respects it is closer to the Anglo-Norman original. Edited K8lbing,ed.cit.,pp.323-358; see also Hibbard,op.cit.,p.225, and Severs,op.cit.,p.154.

Notes to Chapter Seven

1. ed. A. McI. Trounce, EETS, OS, 224 (London, 1951, repr. 1957).
2. ed.cit., pp. 8-11.
3. For traditions concerning Athelston see Trounce, ed.cit., p. 28; L.H. Loomis, "The Athelston Gift Story," PMLA, LXVII (1952), 521-37.
4. Trounce, ed.cit., p. 40.
5. The Tale of Gamelyn, ed. W.W. Skeat (Oxford, 1884, 2nd. ed. 1893).
6. ed.cit., pp. xxxiv-xxxv.
7. Hibbard, Medieval Romance, p. 157.
8. op.cit., p. 159.
9. C.W. Dunn, discussing this point, wrongly dates Fouke Fitzwarin as of the 12th century; Severs, Manual, p. 32.
10. Hibbard, op.cit., p. 161.
11. Richard Löwenherz, ed. K. Brunner (Wien & Leipzig, 1913).
12. For evidence of these traditions in art see R.S. Loomis, "Richard Coeur de Lion and the Pas Saladin in Medieval Art," PMLA, XXX (1915), 509 ff. There are interesting parallels in the Anglo-Norman chronicle on the Crusade and Death of Richard 1 ed. R.C. Johnston, A.N.T.S. XVII (Oxford, 1961), dating 1246-1320, and described by the editor as an "unambitious, unscholarly, popular narrative." (p. xv).

13. G.Paris, "Le Roman de Richard Coeur de Lion," Romania, XXVI(1897) 353-393.
14. op.cit., 387.
15. Wells, Manual, p.153. More recently, Baugh has put forward the same argument: "The author refers to his source as French, but the strong English bias and open scorn expressed for the French king puts its English origin beyond any doubt." Literary History p.180.
16. JEGP, XV(1916), 455-465.
17. Dunn excludes Richard from "Romances derived from English Legends" because of its post-Conquest material; Severs, Manual, pp.17-18.
18. see Trounce, ed.cit., pp.6, 29.
19. Severs, Manual, p.34.
20. Cf. the Anglo-Norman William Longespee which resembles Richard in material, approach and date, and in its strong anti-French feeling; see above pp.160-161.
21. Cf. G.H.Gerould, "Social and Historical Reminiscences in the Middle English Athelston," Eng.Stud., XXXVI(1906), 193-208: "The story is truly English and was made in English soil, whether Anglo-Norman or the native vernacular was the speech in which it was first written down."
22. ed.cit., p.38.
23. However, both Norfolk biships suggested by Trounce as possible models for Alryke were as fierce against local magnates as against the crown; ed.cit., p.34, note 2.



24. Keen, Outlaws, pp.79-80.
25. ll. 503, 533.
26. Cf. Keen, op.cit., p.156, who concludes that a misplaced faith in the King's justice, as shown in the Robin Hood ballads, was "the most tragic of the misconceptions of the medieval peasantry."
27. Fergus, ll. 3275-3385.
28. In both there is also a suggestion that the outlaws are of gentle birth; see Gamelyn, line 663, and Fergus, ll. 3301-2: "Li maistres d'els, qui fu cortois/ De felensesse cortoisie."
29. op.cit., p.463.
30. ll. 7-27.
31. op.cit., p.243.
32. line 27.
33. ll. 6825-40.
34. See Ward, Catalogue, I, 946.
35. See above pp.130-132.
36. ll. 251-590.

Notes to Chapter Eight

1. See Appx.II.
2. The term "Alliterative Revival" is used here as the most convenient and widely accepted description of the group of Middle English poems written in alliterative verse. The debate as to whether the poems mark a revival or survival of traditional verse is not relevant to the present argument.
3. See especially, J.P.Oakden, Alliterative Poetry in Middle English (Manchester, 1935); R.A.Waldron, "Oral-Formulaic Technique and Middle English Poetry," Spec., XXXII (1957), 792-804; D.Everett, Essays, pp.26-30.
4. As, for example, by Geoffrey Shepherd in The Nature of Alliterative Poetry in Late Medieval England (British Academy, 1970).
5. Lazamon's Brut, as a chronicle, is unfortunately outside the scope of this thesis. However, the date, provenance and nature of the work do suggest that it may owe more to the traditions of Anglo-Norman historical writing than has previously been recognised, and it is hoped that this question will form the basis of a separate study.
6. The parallels between Henry of Lancaster's Seyntz Medecines and The Parlement of the Three Ages noted by Elizabeth Salter, "The Alliterative Revival", p.147, are particularly relevant.
7. ibid.
8. Hulbert, "Hypothesis", pp.405-22.
9. Shepherd, op.cit., p.10.

10. Horn, Ipomedon and Gui are amongst the Anglo-Norman romances that stress the value of wisdom at the expense of the more youthful qualities of a courtly hero. See also above Ch.3,n.13 on the same theme in Fantosme, and Salter,loc.cit., on the Seyntz Medecines. The subject is of course part of a widespread topos, for an account of which see E.Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages(first publ.as Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter, Bern, 1948, English trans.London, 1953), pp.170-6.
11. It is seen by Shepherd as a "continuum" of "moral insight and historical truth",op.cit.,p.18.
12. W.Barron,"The French Sources of Middle English Alliterative Romances," unpubl. thesis (SE.Andrews, 1959).
13. op.cit.,p.493.
14. op.cit.,p.469.
15. See especially, Hulbert,op.cit.; Salter,op.cit.; N.Blake, "Rhythmical Alliteration,"Mod.Phil.LXVII(1969), 118-124; M.McKisack,The Fourteenth Century(Oxford, 1959), pp.525-6.
16. p.121.
17. William of Palerne, ed.W.W.Skeat, EETS, ES, 1(London, 1867, rptd.1890).
18. Gest Historiale of the Destruction of Troy, ed.G.A.Panton & D.Donaldson, EETS, OS, 39, 56(London, 1866, 1874), p.xxv.
19. Chevalere Assigne, ed.H.H.Gibbs, EETS, ES, 6(London, 1868).



20. See Hibbard, Medieval Romance, p.250. The fullest account of the Swan Knight legend and its connexions with English and continental aristocracy, is given by A.R.Wagner, "The Swan Badge and the Swan Knight," Archeologia, XCVII(1959), 127-138, although he does not consider the Middle English poem. Thomas Beauchamp left a "cup of the swan" in his will in 1400, and Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, a "Histoire de Chivaler a Cigne" in 1399; see Test.Vetusta, pp.148,155.
21. op.cit., p.417.
22. This question is discussed fully by Barron, op.cit., pp.478-80.
23. op.cit., p.10.
24. See A.McIntosh, "The Textual Transmission of the Alliterative Morte Arthure," English & Medieval Studies presented to J.R.R.Tolkien, ed.N.Davies & C.L.Wrenn(London,1962), 231-241.
25. op.cit., p.525.
26. Fergus was written in Scotland, Fouke Fitzwarin, the romances of Hue de Roteland and probably Horn in Wales or the Marches, Gui de Warewic in the West Midlands.
27. See Oakden, op.cit., Ch.1; M.S.Serjeantson, "The Dialects of the West Midlands in Middle English," RES, III(1927), 54-67, 186-203, 319-331.
28. See McIntosh, op.cit.
29. Ker, Epic and Romance, p.54.
30. Legge, Literature, p.134.
31. op.cit., p.180.
32. op.cit., pp.247-9,268.

33. op.cit., p.274.
34. op.cit., p.293.
35. op.cit., p.81.
36. See R.Bossuat, Le Moyen Age (Paris, 1955), p.223.
37. See above p.274 ff.
38. The Sege off Melayne, ed.S.J.Hærrtage, EETS, ES, 35 (London, 1880).
39. See Severs, Manual, p.93.
40. This is the conclusion reached by McIntosh, op.cit., and supported by J.Finlayson in his edition of the poem Morte Arthure, Y.M.T. (London, 1967).
41. For theories as to the possible sources of the poem see Finlayson, ed.cit., pp.31-2.
42. Tatlock, Legendary History, pp.436-7.
43. G.H.Gerould, "King Arthur and Politics," Spec., II (1927), 40-41. A.C.Baugh, "The Authorship of the Middle English Romances," M.H.R.A.Bulletin, XXII (1950), p.23, suggests that it was the interests of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy that promoted the development of Arthur as an answer to Charlemagne. It will be evident from what follows that I would suggest that the interests of the king and the aristocracy were divergent on this issue, as on many others.
44. See Tatlock, op.cit., p.426.
45. See below p.323.
46. Tatlock, op.cit., pp.426-7.

47. See R.S.Loomis, "Tristan and the House of Anjou," *M.L.R.*, XVII (1922), 24-30; Lejeune, "Role littéraire."
48. "When the king, the child's grandfather, had ordered his own name to be given to him, the Bretons objected and by solemn acclamation he was named Arthur in Holy Baptism. In this manner the Bretons, who are said to have long expected the advent of the fabled Arthur; now in high hope rear a true one, in accordance with the beliefs of certain prophets enshrined in their great and famous legends of Arthur." William of Newburgh, *Historia Regum Anglicarum*, trans. D.C.Douglas & G.W.Greenaway, *English Historical Documents*, II, 1042-1189 (London, 1953), p.361. See also E.K.Chambers, *Arthur of Britain* (London, 1927), pp.110-2.
49. The various accounts of this discovery are discussed by Chambers, *op.cit.*, pp.112-123; R.W.Barber, *Arthur of Albion* (London, 1961), pp.55-61.
50. See Heer, *Medieval World*, p.168.
51. See Benedict of Peterborough, *Gesta Regis Ricardi*, quoted by Chambers, *op.cit.*, p.274.
52. R.S.& L.H.Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art* (New York, 1938), p.40.
53. *op.cit.*, pp.44-45.
54. T.Borenius, "The Cycle of Images in the Palaces and Castles of Henry III," *Journal of the Courtauld & Warburg Institute*, VI (1943), 40-50.
55. For a discussion of the poem written by John of Hoveden in 1274, see Legge, *Literature*, p.233. In the relevant passage he gives a list of heroes including "Roland, Robert Curthose, Gawain, Yvain, Perceval, the Young King, Arthur and Edward 1."



56. Powicke, Thirteenth Century, p.516.
57. See Chambers, op.cit., pp.128,279.
58. See R.S.Loomis, "Edward 1, Aethurian Enthusiast," Spec., XXVIII (1953), 114-27.
59. For the development of the tournament in the twelfth century see above pp.132-132.
60. Denholm-Young, "The Tournament in the Thirteenth Century," pp.240-252.
61. op.cit., p.245.
62. See R.S.Loomis, "Arthurian Influence on Sport and Spectacle," in A.L.M.A., 553-4; Cline, "Influence of Romances," 204, and note; Denholm-Young, op.cit., 254, discusses the differences between tournaments and Round Tables.
63. Loomis, op.cit., 553.
64. See Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, V, 318; Denholm-Young, op.cit., 253-5.
65. Annales Monastici, ed.H.R.Luard, R.S.36(London, 1864-9), IV, 445.
66. Denholm-Young, op.cit., 254-5.
67. See Loomis, "Edward 1".
68. See M.E.Giffin, "Cadwalader, Arthur and Britain in the Wigmore MS," Spec., XVI(1941), 109-121.
69. DNB, XIII, 1028-31. However, J.R.Hulbert, op.cit., cites the Mortimers as a family in continual opposition to the crown.

70. Denholm-Young, op.cit., 265-6.
71. Loomis, op.cit., p. 122.
72. Loomis, A.L.M.A., p. 558.
73. op.cit., p. 559.
74. John de Plessis, a close associate of the king, became Earl of Warwick by marriage in 1245, and continued to receive further honours and offices from the king until his death in 1263; C.P., X, 545-8.
75. Cline, op.cit., 208.
76. For the use of the Arthurian legend as Tudor propaganda see Giffin, op.cit.
77. Cf. Langtoft, Chronicle, line 296, where he remarks that Arthur, unlike Edward, could rely on the support of his barons.
78. For the career of Alan of Galloway see above pp. 157-158.
79. Chronicle of Robert of Brunne, ed. F. J. Furnivall, R.S. 87 (London, 1887), I, 10, 605-11. Cf. also 10, 967-8.
80. ed. E. Brock, EETS, OS, 8 (London, 1871); extracts edited by Finlayson, ed.cit. (1967). All references are to the Brock edition.
81. See Finlayson, ed.cit., p. 33.
82. For a discussion of the clerical tone of the poem see Baugh, "Authorship".

83. For an account of the sources of the Morte Arthure, see Finlayson, ed.cit., pp.31-3.
84. See William Matthews, The Tragedy of Arthur (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1960), pp.94-114.
85. Cf. Shepherd, op.cit., p.10, who states that all alliterative poems "strain the limits of genre."
86. Newstead, Severs, Manual, p.45, states that the poem has usually been classified as an epic, but G.Kane, Middle English Literature (London, 1951), p.69, and Everett, Essays, p.21, amongst others, classify it as a romance, although with reservations.
87. Everett, op.cit., pp.61-5. See also L.D.Benson, "The Alliterative Morte and Medieval Tragedy," Tennessee Studies in Literature, XI(1966), 75-87. George Clark, "Gawain's Fall: the Alliterative Morte and Hastings," pp.89-95 of the same volume, draws attention to similarities between this poem and the chronicles of William of Poitiers and Guy of Amiens.
88. Finlayson, ed.cit., pp.11-13.
89. Matthews, op.cit., pp.93-6.
90. Cf. Finlayson, ed.cit., p.11: "Morte Arthure is an isolated work."
91. The possibility that an expanded version of Wace was used by the poet, first suggested by K.Imelmann, Layamon: Versuch über seine Quellen (Berlin, 1909), is now generally discounted, and would not, in any case, affect the present argument.
92. Matthews, op.cit., p.21, suggests that the substitution of Carlisle for the traditional Caerleon may indicate local interest.



93. Cf. Wace, Brut, ll. 11, 173-89; 13, 015-29. The basis for the details in the Morte Arthure seems to lie in the two lines: "De tuz les baruns prist humages/ E de Tuz les chastels hostages."
94. See above p. 117 ff.
95. See above p. 201.
96. See Matthews, op.cit., pp. 104-6, 124-6 and notes.
97. op.cit., pp. 107-124.
98. Wace, Brut, ll. 9753-86.
99. Everett, op.cit., p. 62; Matthews, op.cit., p. 97.
100. Cf. the contrasting courts of Thomas's Tristan and the Romance of Horn discussed above pp. 83-85.
101. Matthews, op.cit., pp. 21, 112.
102. For a discussion of this point see Finlayson, ed.cit., p. 29, and Waldron, op.cit., pp. 802-4.
103. For a comparison of the Morte and the chronicles on this point see Matthews, op.cit., pp. 25-28.
104. None of the chronicles state who did kill Lucius; see Matthews, op.cit., p. 27.
105. ll. 3795-3812.
106. See Kane, op.cit., pp. 72-73.
107. See Matthews, op.cit., p. 30.
108. ll. 4084-4104.

109. ll. 4142-4154.
110. Finlayson, ed.cit., note to ll. 4275-90.
111. See as well as Matthews, L.D.Benson, op.cit.
112. ll. 53, 3214; 4005.
113. For a discussion of how this differs from the chronicle treatment of the story, where the blame falls simply on Modred, see Matthews, op.cit., p.121.
114. The Works of Sir Thomas Malory, ed.E.Vinaver, 3 vols.(Oxford, 1947 2nd ed.1967), II, 864.
115. The Awntyrs off Arthure at the Terne Wathelyne, ed.R.J.Gates (Philadelphia, 1969).
116. See Matthews, op.cit., pp.156-160.
117. For details of date and mss. see Severs, Manual, p.61.
118. Matthews, op.cit., p.161.
119. See especially ll. 339-403.
120. See Matthews, op.cit., p.156 and note 4.
121. William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum, III, 287, quoted by Webster, "Galloway and the Romances," 363.
122. ed.F.J.Amours, S.T.S.27 (Edinburgh, 1897).
123. For dating and mss. see Severs, op.cit., p.62.
124. Matthews, op.cit., p.168.

125. See Barron, "French Sources", and Matthews, op.cit. p. 166.
126. ll. 1073-1085.
127. esp. at ll. 389-344.
128. ll. 1051-64, 1168-93.
129. "Quhill I may my wit wald/ I think my fredome to hald,  
As my eldaris of ald/ Has done me beforne." 450-3.
130. ll. 275-80, 506-18.
131. ll. 713-764.
132. His activity during the battle consists mainly of weeping,  
line 693 is typical: "The roy ramyt for reuth, richest of rent."
133. ll. 1220-1245.
134. ed. J.R.R. Tolkien & E.V. Gordon (Oxford, 1925).
135. For a detailed discussion of the similarities between  
Sir Gawain and Awntyrs see Matthews, op.cit., p. 156 and note 5.
136. See above pp. 39-40.
137. See B.J. Whiting, "Gawain: His Reputation, His Courtesy and  
His Appearance in Chaucer's Squire's Tale," Medieval Studies,  
IX (1947), 189-234; D.S. Brewer, "Courtesy and the Gawain-Poet,"  
Patterns of Love and Courtesy, ed. J. Lawlor (London, 1966), 80-84.
138. "Et se li amoneste et prie/ Que il ne laist chevalerie  
Por sa femme, que n'est pas drois." ll. 6962-4.
139. See above pp. 102-4.
140. Matthews, op.cit., pp. 170-172.



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